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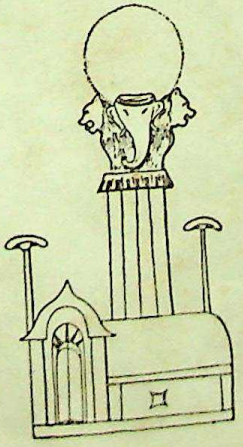

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LIFE IN SANCHI SCULPTURE

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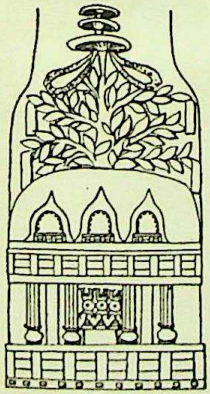

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ISBN 0-391-02717-4

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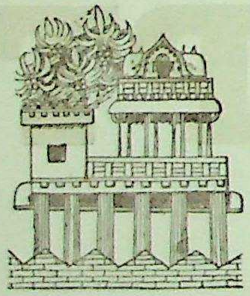
Cover & Inside Layout: Yashodamohan

First published 1983 in India by
Shakti Malik
Abhinav Publications
E-37 Hauz Khas, New Delhi-110016

Printers
Hans Raj Gupta & Sons
Anand Parbat
New Delhi-110005



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To my wife

Smt. SAROJ BALA SRIVASTAVA

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We are grateful to the following institutions for their photographs and kind permission to reproduce them:

The American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi

Pls X-XX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XLIV, XLV, LI, LIII, LV, LIX-LXIII, LXV, LXVI, LXVIII, LXXIII, LXXIX, LXXX

The Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi

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The National Museum, New Delhi

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PREFACE

The Sāñchī monuments are the most imposing and the best preserved of all the monuments that early Buddhism has bequeathed to India. The importance of these monuments lies as much in their rich and varied carvings as in the fact that they have served singularly to preserve the Hīnayāna art in all its facets. The four gateways of the Great Stūpa, one small gateway of the Stūpa No. 3 and the ground rail-pillars of the Stūpa No. 2 preserve in their bas-reliefs an encyclopaedia of sights and scenes depicting the culture and civilization of the time.

For more than 150 years the monuments of Sāñchī, because of their architectural grandeur and sculptural profusion, have been a centre of attraction for casual visitors as well as serious scholars, both Indian and foreign. Much work has been done on the architectural and sculptural art of these monuments. Besides several articles and excavation reports, Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* (London, 1856), Fergusson's *Tree & Serpent Worship* (London, 1868), Maisey's *Sāñchī & Its Remains* (London, 1892) and Marshall's *Monuments of Sāñchī* (London, 1940) in three folio volumes are noteworthy. The last one which is the latest and most comprehensive, was written by Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar. Marshall, who was also the editor of this voluminous work, has described the monuments and their sculptures, Foucher has given their religious interpretations and Majumdar has edited and translated the inscriptions found on the monuments of Sāñchī.

But, these writings describe the bas-reliefs mainly in so far as their religious significance or artistic excellence is concerned. Socio-cultural aspects have been either ignored or dealt with casually in a sketchy manner. The main purpose of these works was to discuss the achievements of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana artists in the field of art and architecture. No systematic analysis of the material contents of Sāñchī sculptures has, however, been attempted so far. The solitary attempt in this direction was made by M.K. Dhavalikar in his monograph, *Sāñchī : A Cultural Study* (Poona, 1965). Though the first of its kind, it is no more than a long essay. It fails to give a compact or detailed picture of life. It is confined to a mere description of the articles represented in the sculptures. But many of the important aspects of life fully illustrated therein have completely escaped his notice. The author also appears to have concentrated only on panels of the Great Stūpa and the entire bulk of the bas-reliefs on the Stūpas No. 2 and No. 3 has not been fully utilized.

The present work, a revised version of the thesis approved by the University of Lucknow under the title 'Life as Depicted in Sāñchī Sculptures' for the Ph.D. degree in 1976, is an attempt to interpret the Sāñchī bas-reliefs from a socio-cultural point of view and to present a complete and comprehensive picture of life in central India during Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period.

No doubt, sculptures have their own limitations in providing detailed information, but at the same time, it is also true that visual presentation is more informative than a long description in literary works. Sāñchī sculptures are, therefore, a good source material for studying the socio-cultural life of the time.

Sāñchī sculptures reveal that life was happy and prosperous during the age. People of all classes enjoyed their conjugal life. Profuse decoration in their dress and ornaments was the key-point reflecting their aesthetic sense of personal adornment. Ladies were specially proficient in styling their hair in a number

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of ways. Multi-storeyed residences, comfortable furniture and various means of transport and recreation were a few aspects of the affluent society of the past. Warfare, as we know, was quite indispensable in those days. Four-fold armies equipped with adequate arms and armour were employed in warfare. This material culture was complemented with religious beliefs and rituals. Buddhists were assimilating elements of Vedic pantheon and this amalgam was apparent from a long line of Vedic gods and goddesses attending upon and paying their homage to the Buddha. Sāñchī sculptures, thus reflect life as a whole as lived in the period under review.

The depiction of Sāñchī art is numerous as well as various. Within the Buddhist framework the artists portrayed the panorama of life in the expressive language of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist motifs. Sāñchī art ranks high as one of the earliest attempts to represent contemporary life in its entirety. Men and women, princes and commoners, hunters and hermits, soldiers and servants, arms and armour, dress and ornaments, coiffures and costumes, conveyances and recreations—life in a thousand aspects both rural and urban— have been minutely revealed through this work. It is like a film screening war in operation, advancing and fleeing armies fortifications, dwellings and shrines, royal processions, kings in courts and people enjoying picnics, drinking, joy-riding and participating in water-sports, dance and music.

While interpreting the Sāñchī bas-reliefs other contemporary sculptures, terracottas, coins, ivories and a massive wealth of literature have been kept in view for a comparative study. Besides, a good number of photographs, illustrations in line-drawing have also been appended in order to substantiate the interpretations and make the subject more clear.

Before I conclude, I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my revered teacher Prof. B.N. Srivastava, Head of the Ancient Indian History & Archaeology department, Lucknow University, whose valuable guidance and constant encouragement went a long way in enabling me to accomplish my arduous task. I am extremely grateful to late Prof. R.K. Dikshit, retired Head of the above mentioned department, for suggesting this subject to me. I would like to record my indebtedness to all the scholars whose works have been utilized in preparation of this dissertation. Particularly, I am beholden to Prof. K.D. Bajpai, ex-Tagore Professor of Sagar University, Prof. Jagdish Gupta, Head of the Hindi department, University of Allahabad, Dr. S.C. Kala, ex-Director of the Allahabad Museum, and Dr. H.D. Bahri, a well-known linguist, who gave me the benefit of their erudite knowledge. I can hardly find words to express my gratefulness to Prof. Devendra Singh, retired Head of the English department and late Prof. Symanarayana, retired Head of the Sanskrit department, C.M.P. College, University of Allahabad, who have always been a source of inspiration and who took keen interest in the day-to-day progress of my work. A word of thanks is also due to my friend Dr. K.S. Shukla and Sri O.P. Srivastava who have helped me in many respects.

I visited a number of museums and consulted many libraries during the course of the preparation of this work. Some of them are: National Museum, New Delhi; Asutosh Museum and Indian Museum, Calcutta; State museums at Lucknow, Bhuvanesvara, Vidisa; archaeological museums at Sāñchī, Bodhgaya, Sarnath and Nalanda; Municipal museum at Allahabad; university libraries at Lucknow, Allahabad and Calcutta; G.N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad Library and the Public Library at Allahabad. The staff of all these museums and libraries deserve my thanks for their courtesy and kind cooperation.

I am sincerely thankful to Archaeological Survey of India and National Museum, New Delhi and American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi for their generosity in supplying some photographs of Sāñchī panels which have been reproduced in this book. My grateful thanks are also due to Sri Shakti Malik, the Proprietor of Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, who has taken great pains in bringing out this book.

Allahabad.
Dipāvalī,
November 15, 1982.

A.L. Srivastava

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TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

Vowels	:	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū
		ṛ	e	ai	o	au	
Anusvara	:	ṁ					
Visarga	:	ḥ					
Gutterals	:	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ	
Palatals	:	ch	chh	j	jh	ñ	
Cerebrals	:	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	
Dentals	:	t	th	d	dh	n	
Labials	:	p	ph	b	bh	m	
Semi-vowels	:	y	r	l	v		
Sibilants	:	ś	sh	s			
Aspirate	:	h					

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ait. Br.	:	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Amara.	:	Amarakośa
Artha.	:	Arthaśāstra by Kauṭilya
Ashṭā.	:	Ashṭādhyāyī
AV	:	Atharvaveda
AIIS	:	American Institute of Indian Studies, Vārāṇasī
ASI	:	Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi
Bṛhat Saṁ.	:	Bṛhat Saṁhitā
CII	:	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Chh. Up.	:	Chhāndogya Upanishad
DA	:	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā
DHI	:	Development of Hindu Iconography
DPPN	:	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names
EG	:	Eastern Gateway
Jāt.	:	Jātaka
Kumāra.	:	Kumārasaṁbhava
Mbh.	:	Mahābhārata
M. Bhāshya	:	Mahābhāshya
Mālavikāgni.	:	Mālavikāgnimitram
Manu	:	Manusmṛti
Megha.	:	Meghadūta
Mudrā.	:	Mudrā-rākshasa
MPE	:	Minor Pillar Edict
MRE	:	Minor Rock Edict
NG	:	Northern Gateway
NM	:	National Museum, New Delhi
PHAI	:	Political History of Ancient India
Pratijñā.	:	Pratijñā Yogandharāyaṇa
Raghu.	:	Raghuvaṁśa
Rāmā.	:	Rāmāyaṇa
Ṛtu.	:	Ṛtusaṁhāra
RE	:	Rock Edict
RV	:	Ṛgveda
SBE	:	Sacred Books of the East
Śāk.	:	Abhijñāna Śākuntalam
Śat. Br.	:	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
SG	:	Southern Gateway
SV	:	Sāmaveda
Svapna.	:	Svapnavāsavadattā
Taitti. Saṁ.	:	Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Vāj. Saṁ./VS	:	Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā
Vikramo.	:	Vikramorvaśīyam
WG	:	Western Gateway

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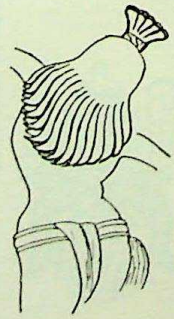

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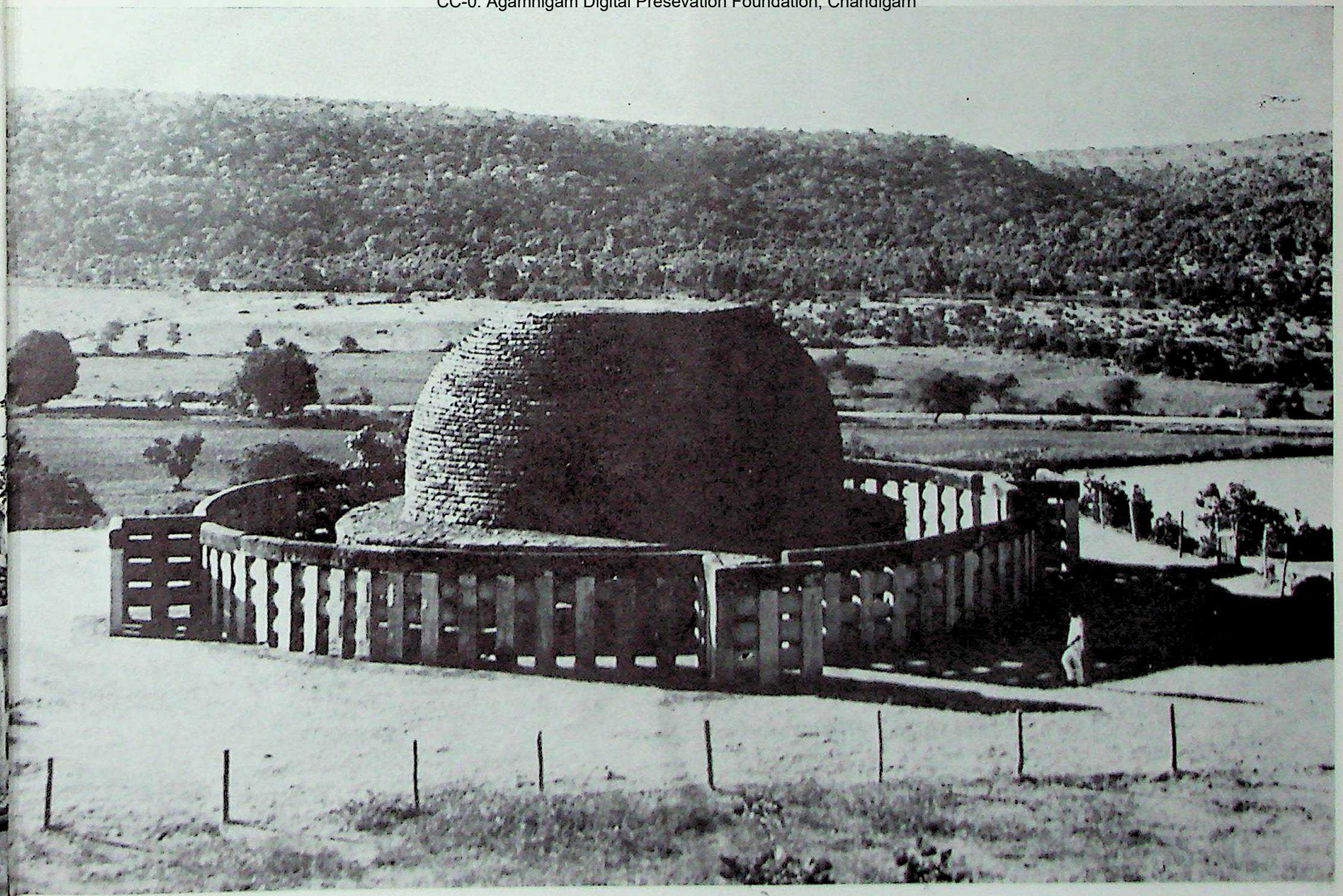

II Stūpa No. 2

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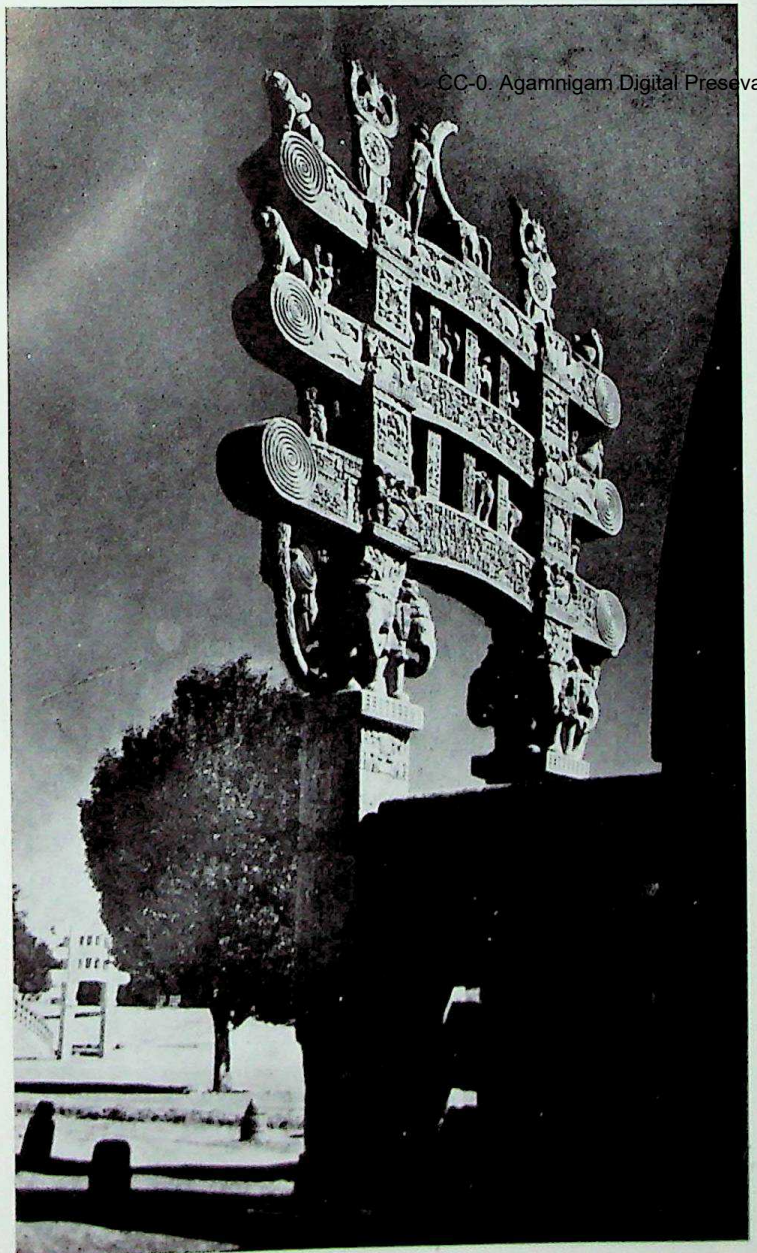

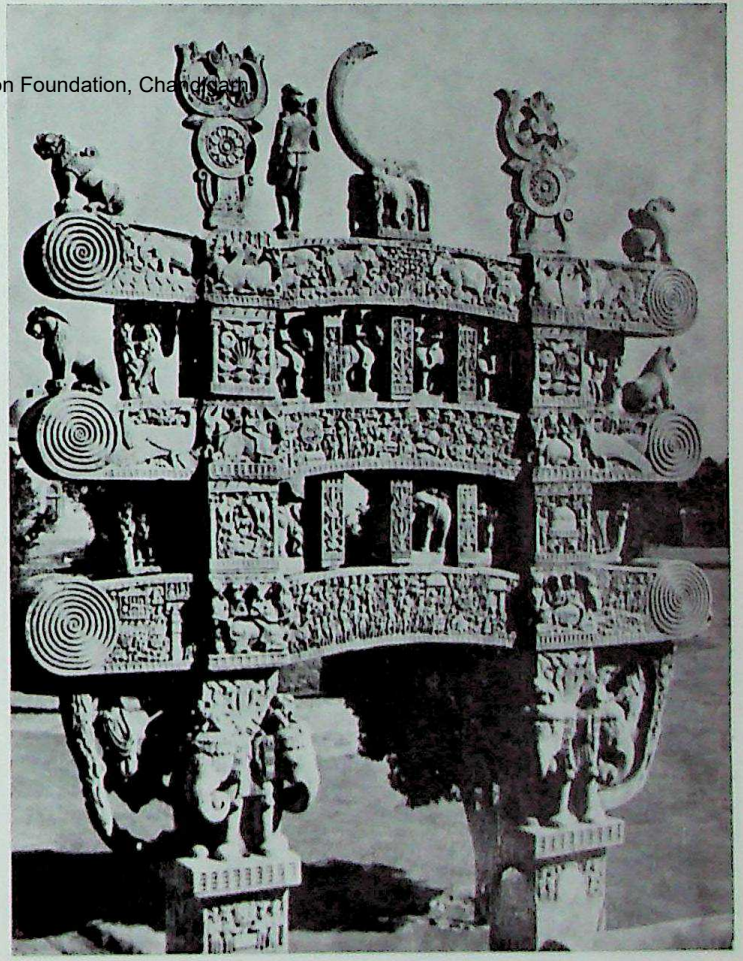

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VI Dvārapāla, EG

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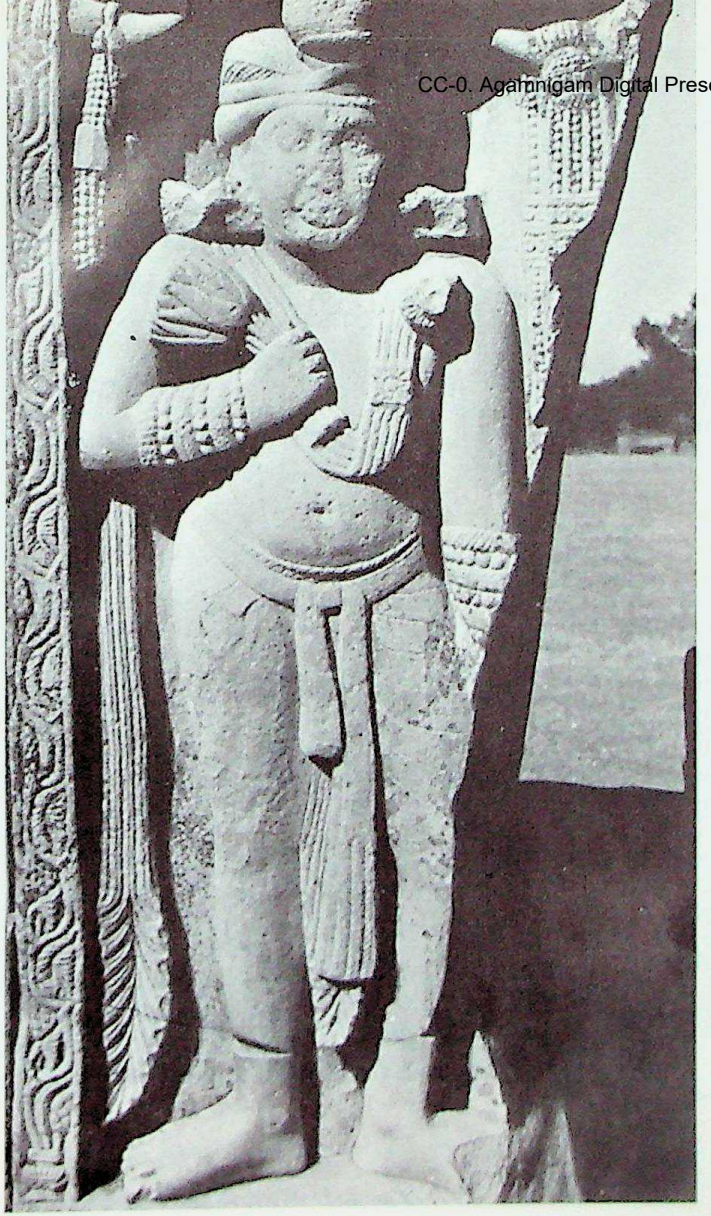

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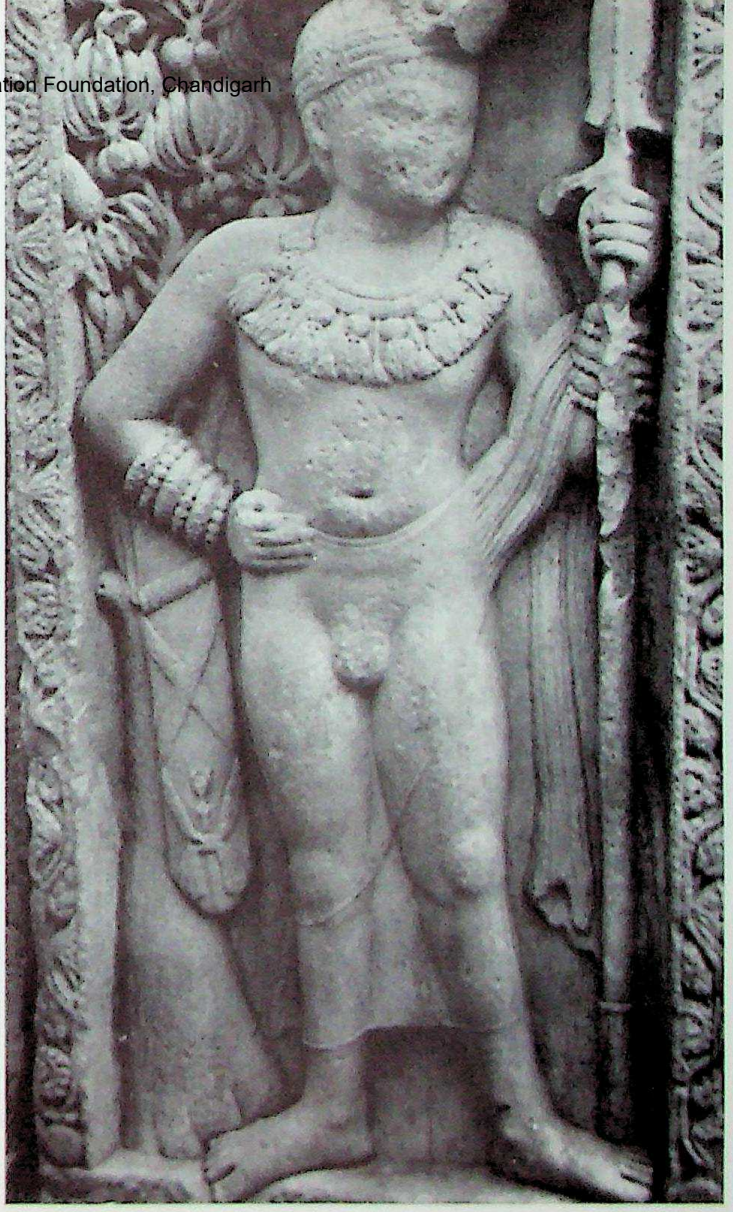

IX Dvārapāla, WG

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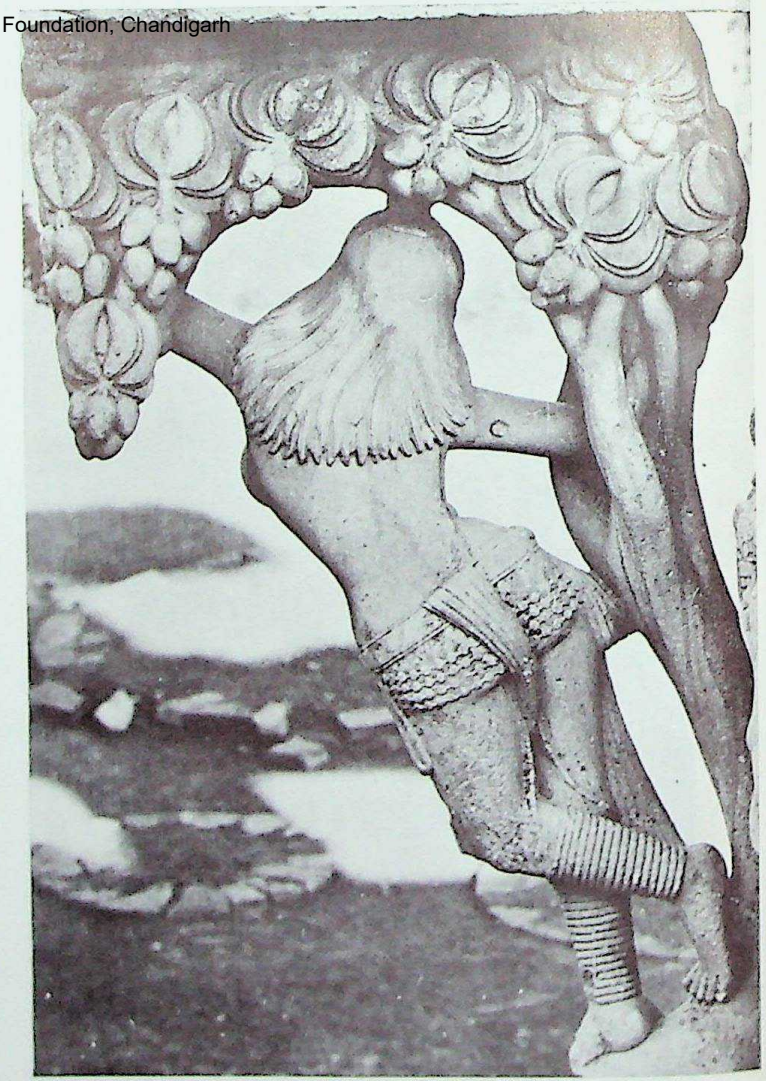

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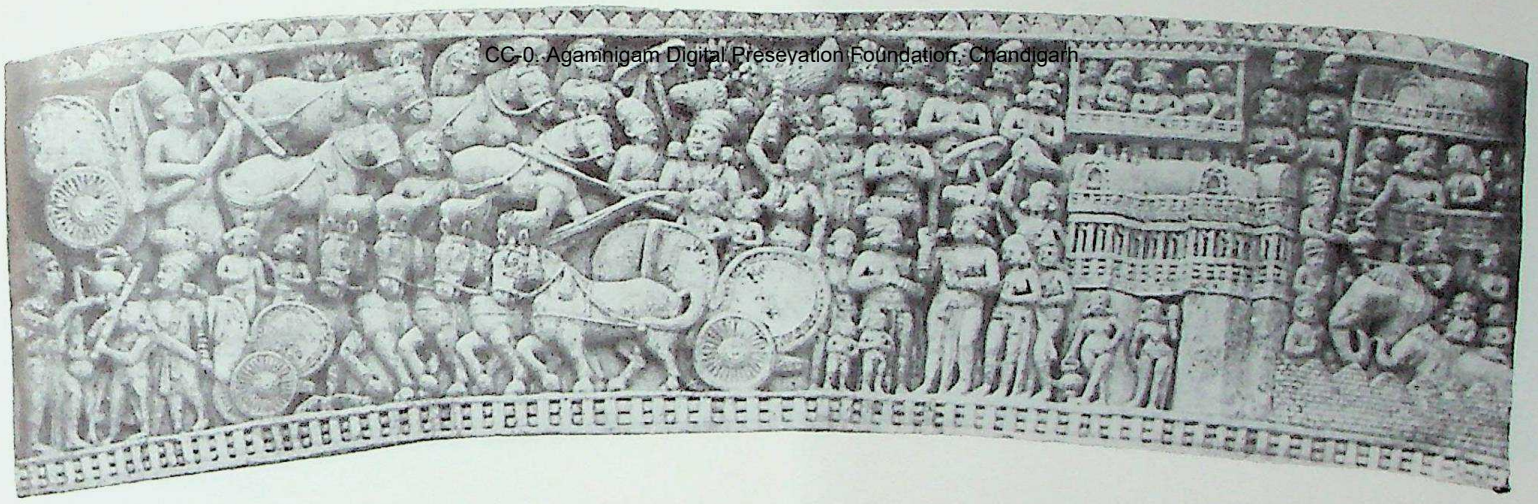

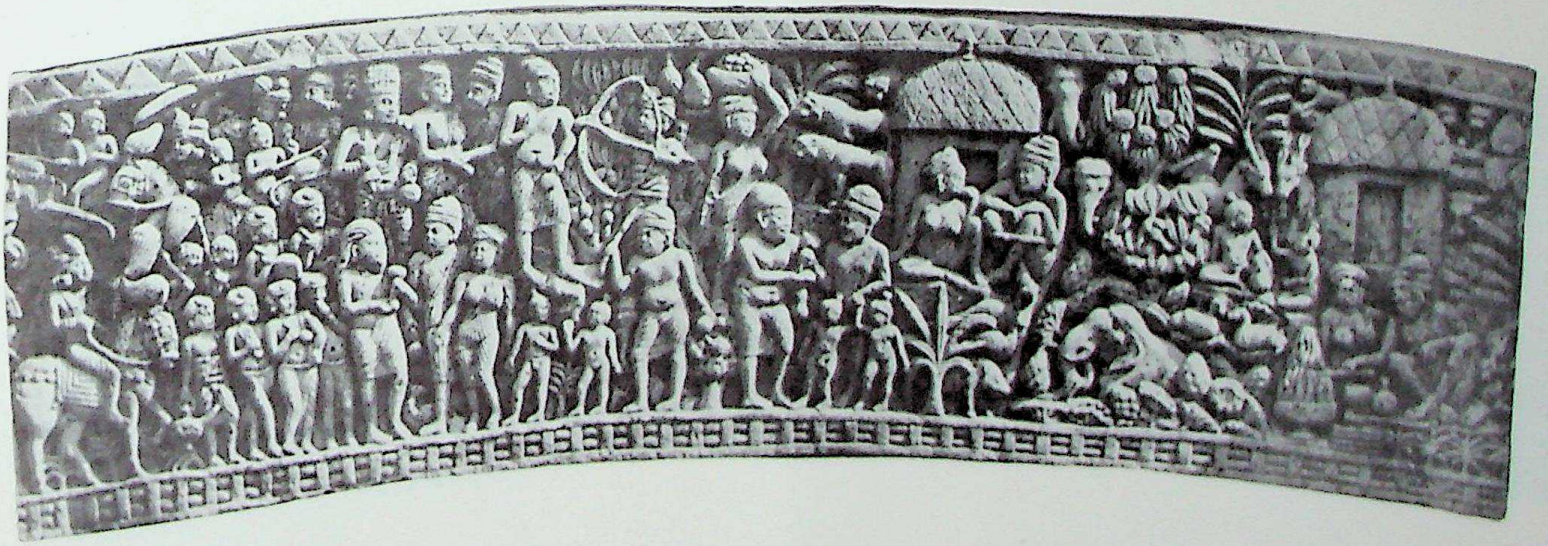

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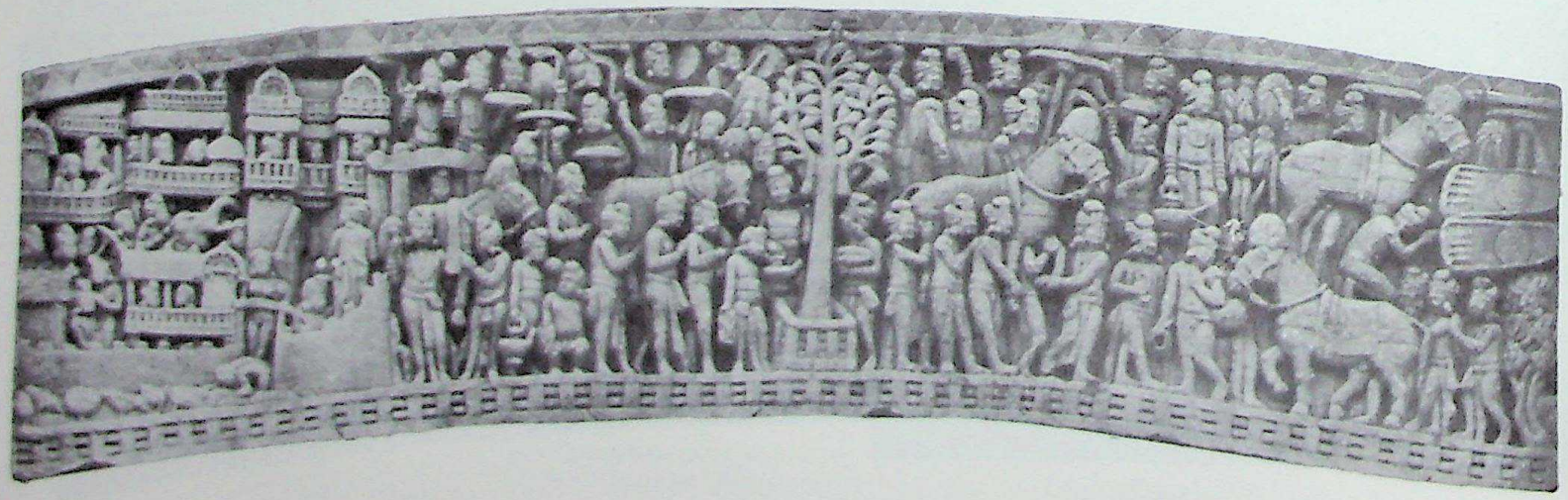

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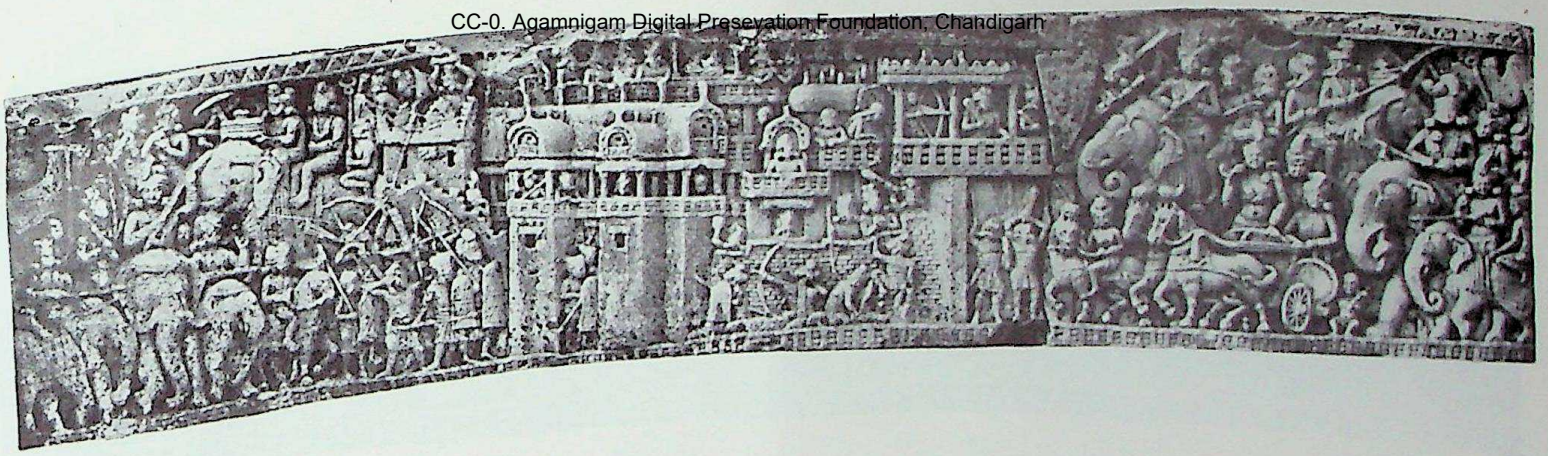

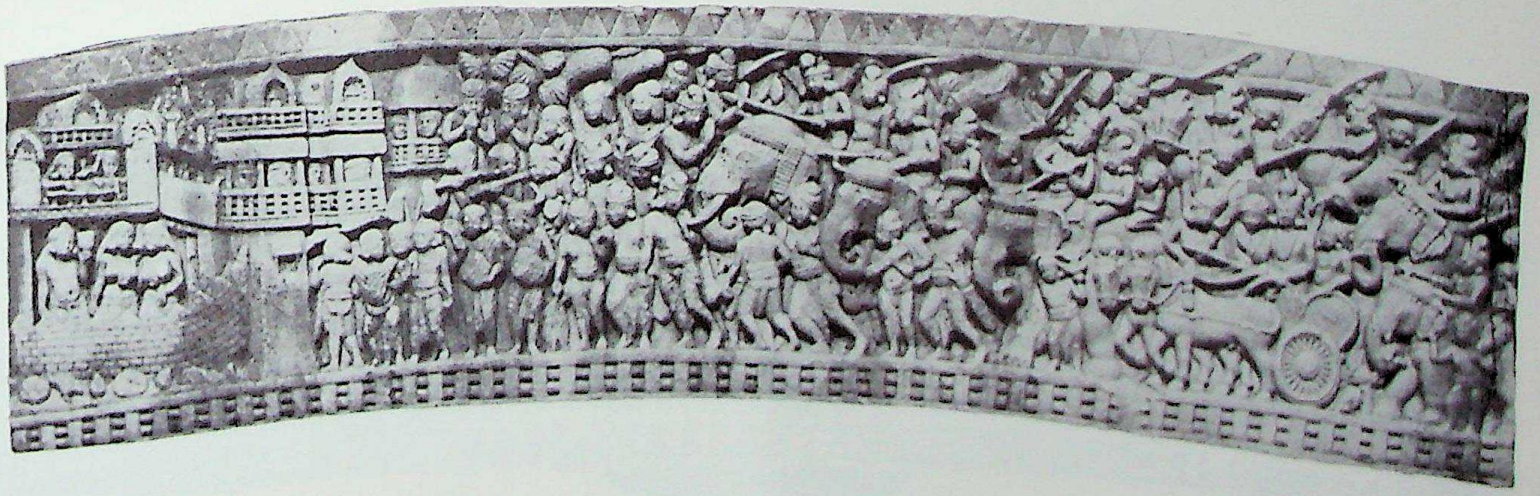

XVI War of Relics, WG

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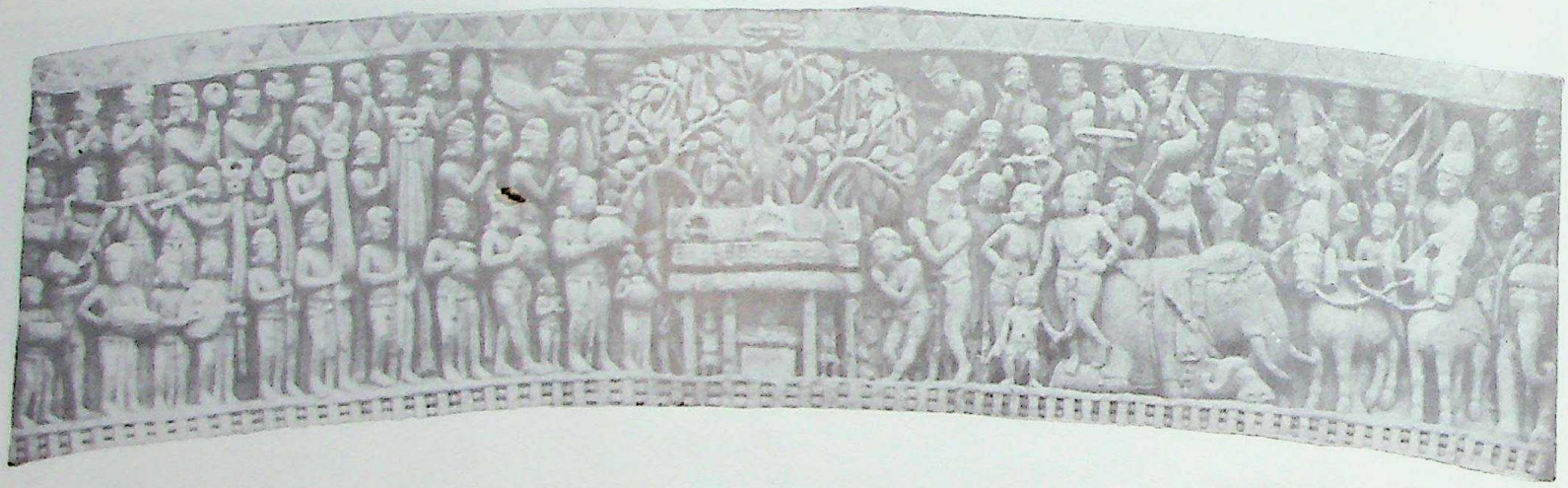

XVIII Māra's army in havoc, WG

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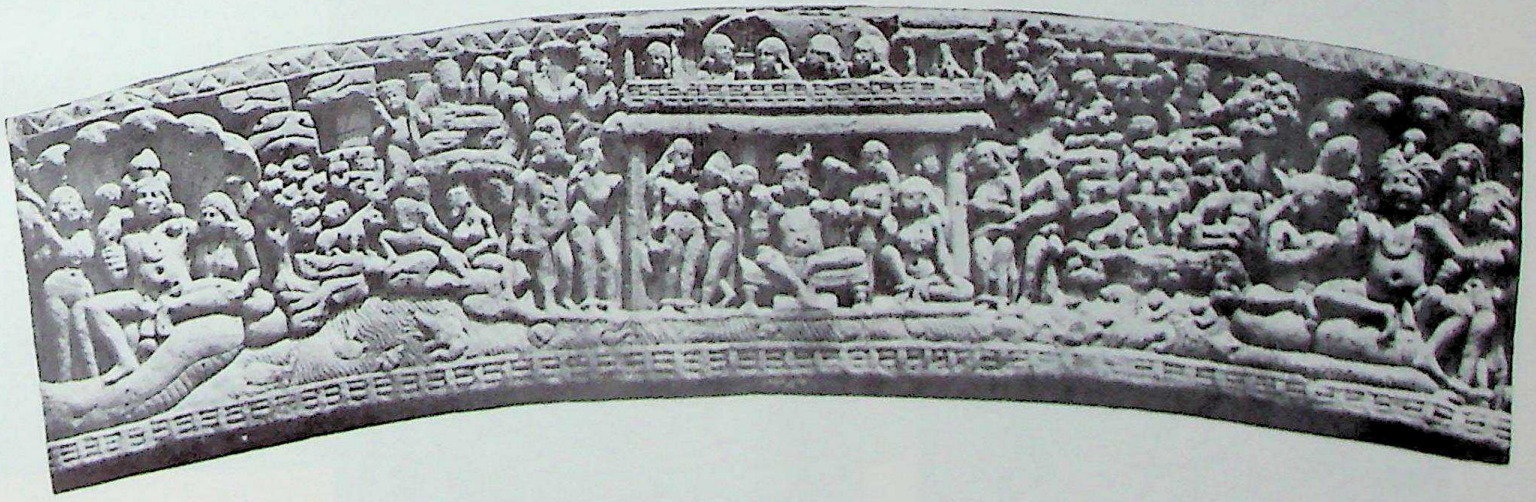

XX Nandanavana, Small Gateway

XIX Nāgas and Aśoka worshipping the stūpa, SG

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XXI Gaja-Lakshmī, SG

XXII Gaja-Lakshmī, WG

XXIII Gaja-Lakshmī, EG

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XXIV Gaja-Lakshmī, Stupa No. 2

XXV Śrī-Lakshmī, SG

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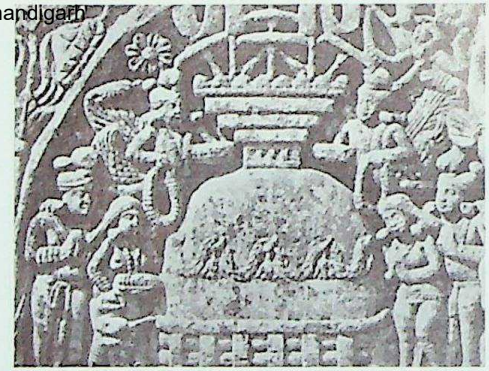

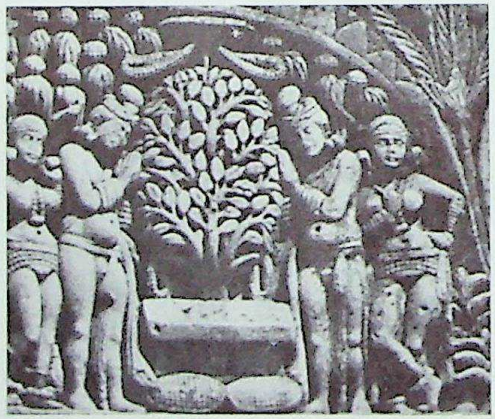

XXVI Śālabhañjikā, Stūpa No. 2

XXVII Nidhi-Lakshmī, Stūpa No. 2

XXVIII Bodhi-tree worship, WG

XXIX Stūpa worship, EG

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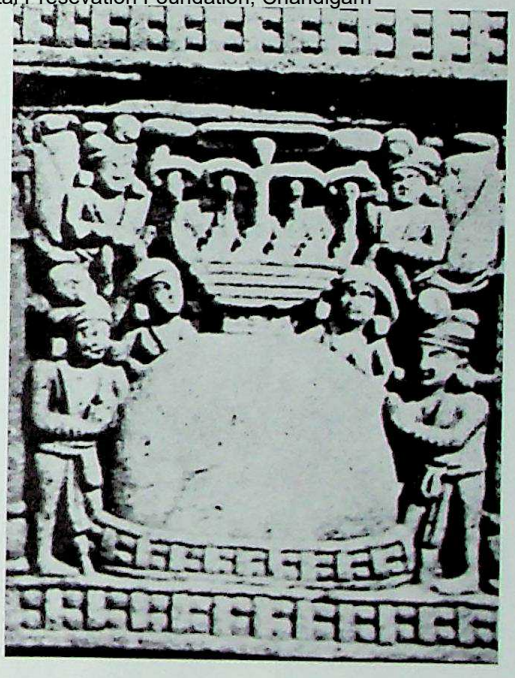

XXX Stūpa worship, NG

XXXI Stūpa worship, SG

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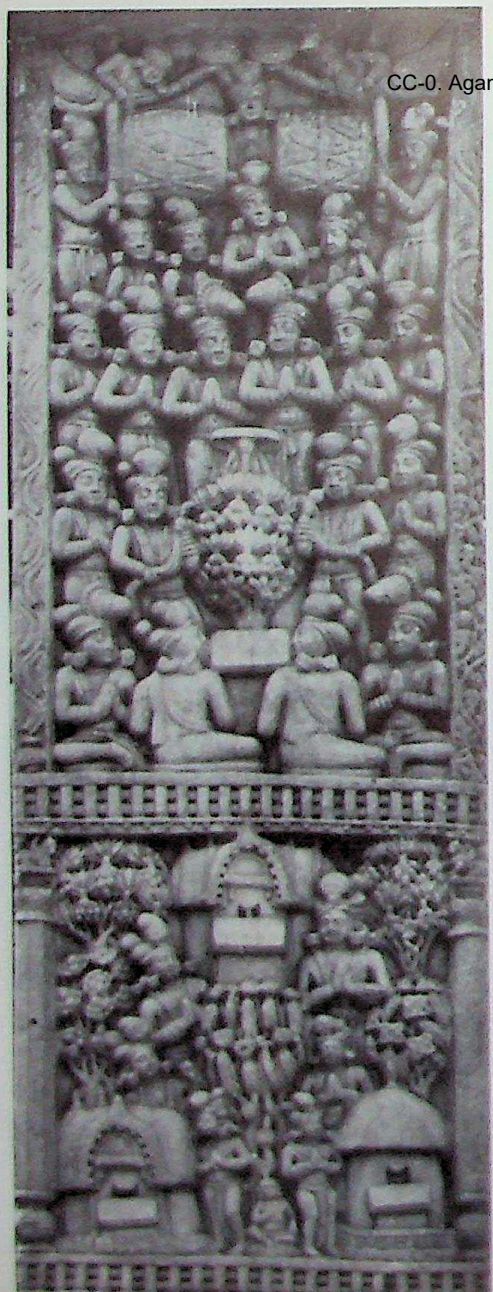

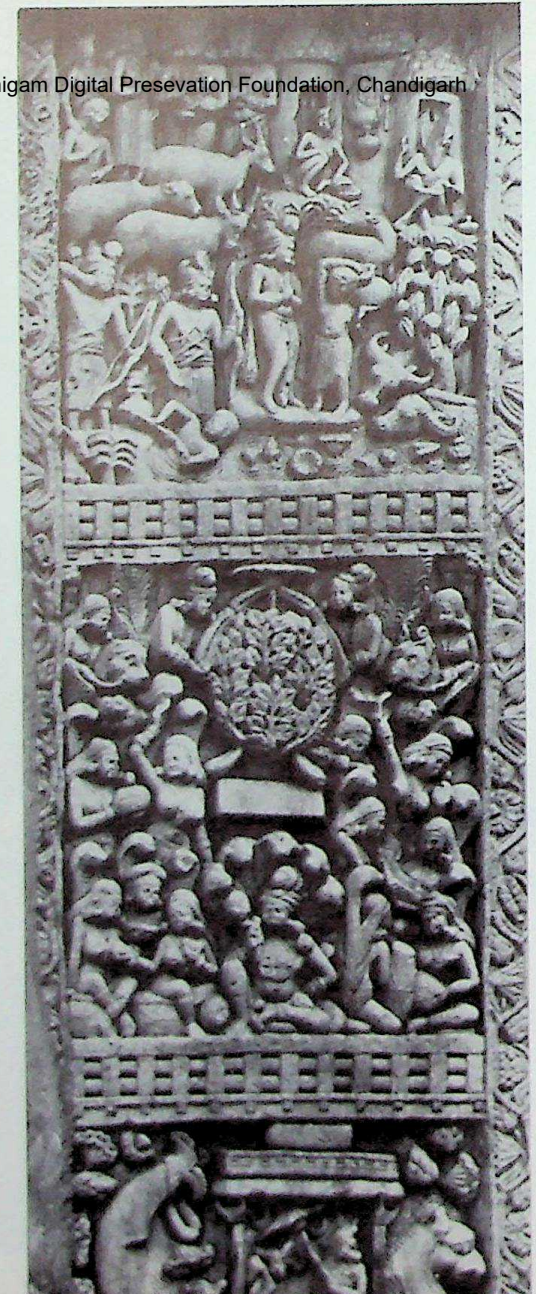

XXXII Bodhi-tree worship and Jetavana, NG

XXXIII A Sāma Jātaka, Nāgarāja Muchalinda and Boat scene, WG

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XXXIII B Nāgarāja Muchalinda scene (close up)

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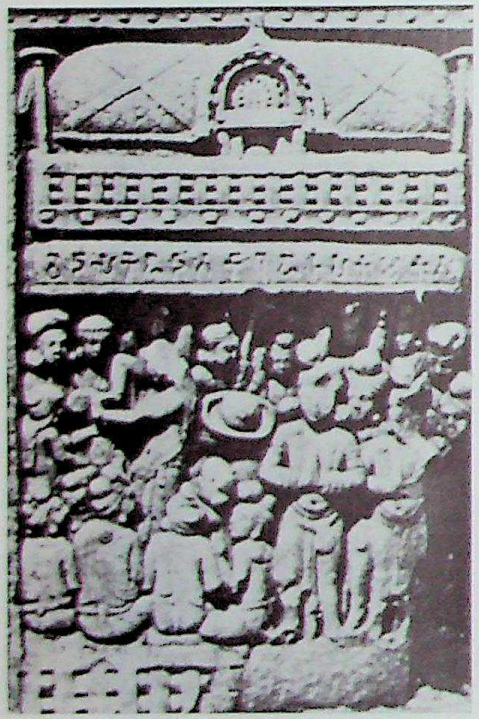

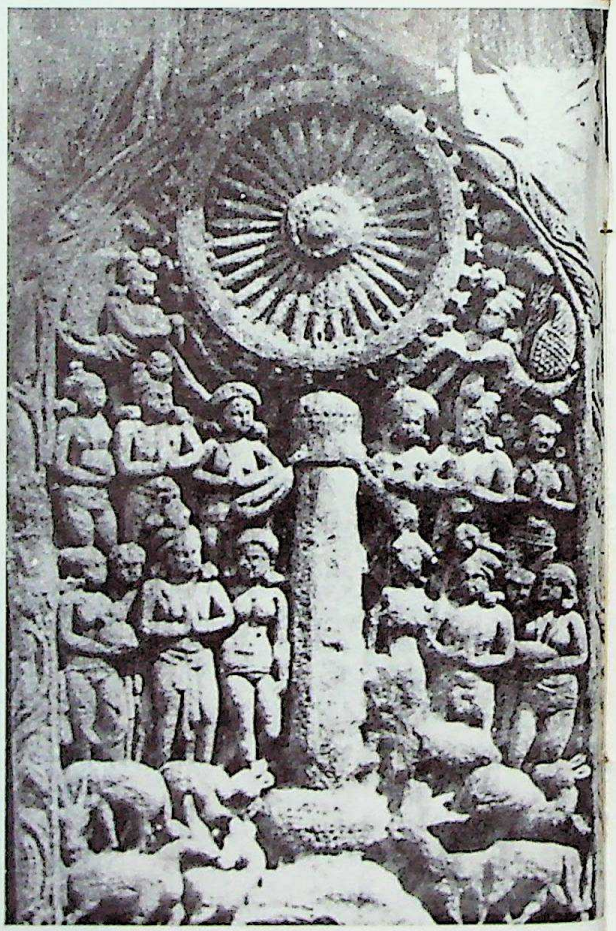

XXXIV Chāḍa worship by devas, SG

XXXV Tri-ratna Temple, EG

XXXVI Pillar-chakra worship, Small Gateway

XXXVII Pillar-chakra worship, SG

XXXIX Śrīvatsa and chakra design, Stūpa No. 2

XXXVIII Pūrṇa kalaśa, NG

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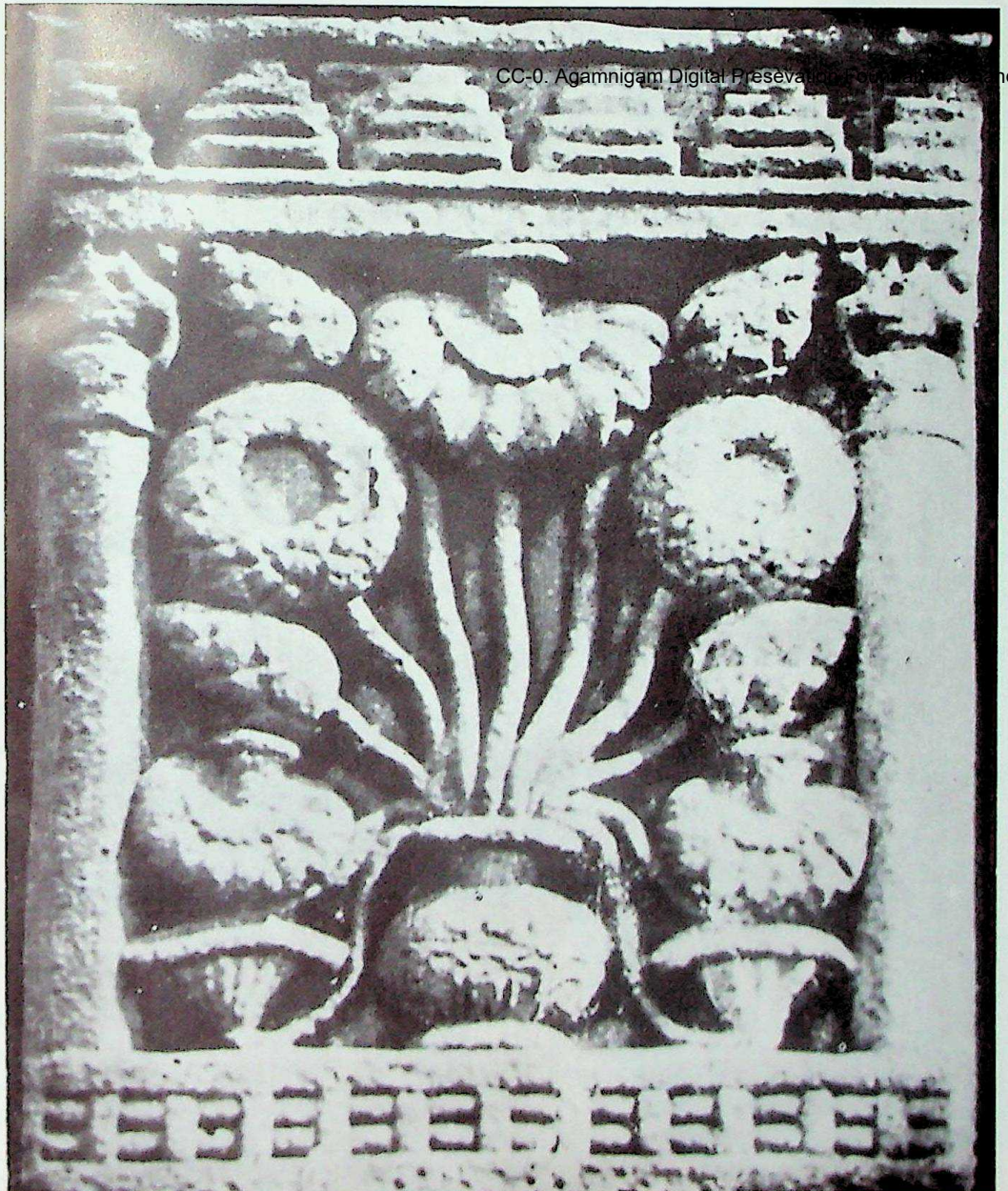

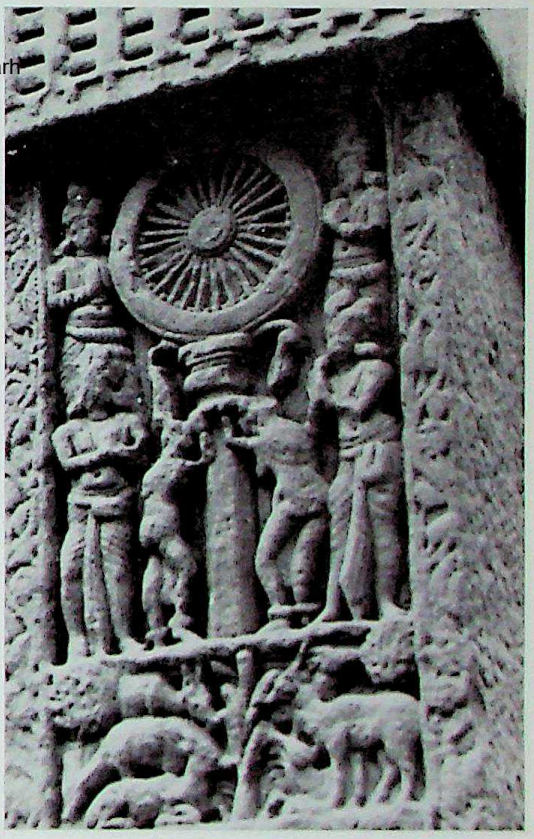

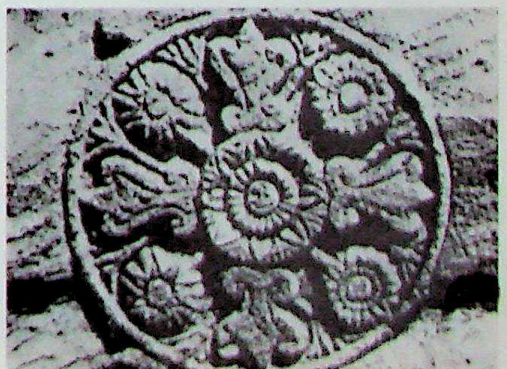

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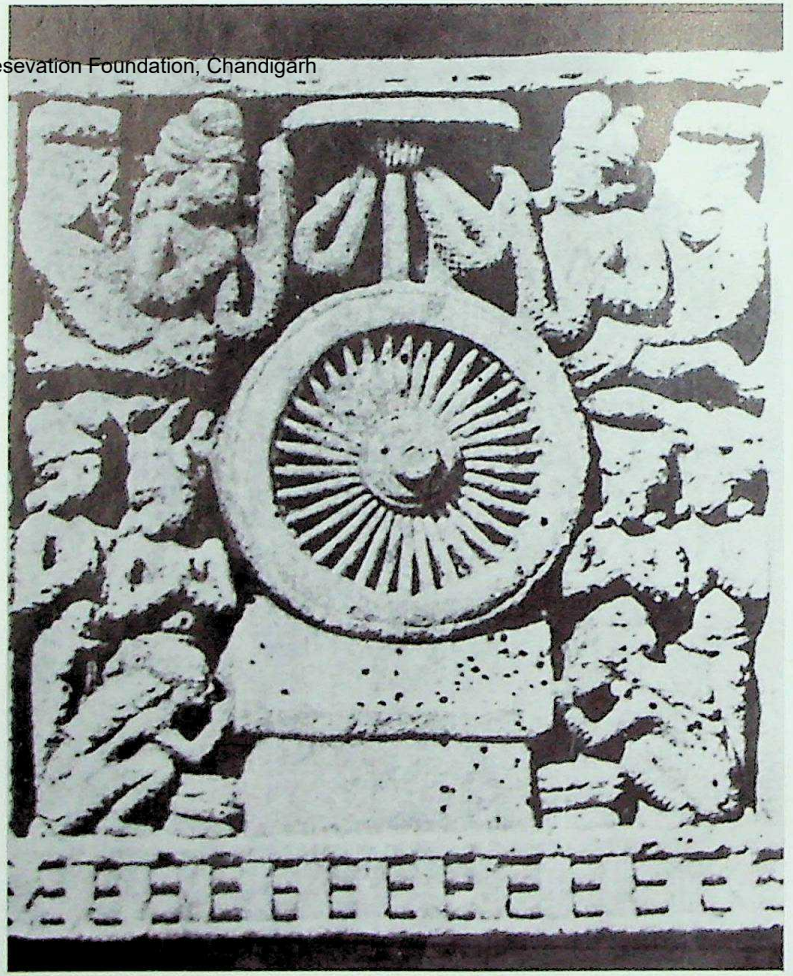

XL Tri-ratna chakra, Stūpa No. 2

XLI Chakra on Āsana, EG

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XLII Elephant riders, NG

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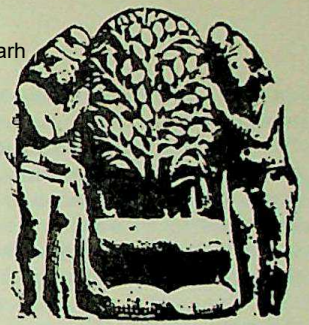

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SĀÑCHĪ monuments are 'the most imposing and best preserved of all monuments that early Buddhism has bequeathed to India'. The importance of these monuments lies as much in their rich and varied carvings as in the fact that they have served singularly to preserve the Hīnayāna art. The Great Stūpa at Sāñchī is the only stūpa which belongs to the earlier Buddhist art and retains all its original features, both sculptural and architectural. Through sculptural representations, Sāñchī art depicts a comprehensive and fascinating picture of varied aspects of life in contemporary society.

ANCIENT NAMES

The modern name Sāñchī has not been mentioned in any inscription or writing. But from different sources, scholars have identified Sāñchī with different ancient names such as *Chetiyagiri*, *Kākaṇāya*, *Kākaṇāva*, *Kākanāda*, *Boṭa-Śrī-Mahāvihāra* and *Boṭa-Śrī-parvata* occurring in different inscriptions found on the railings and gateways of the Great Stūpa itself.

Chetiyagiri

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, a Śrī Laṅkā chronicle, Mahendra, son of Aśoka, on a missionary trip to Śrī Laṅkā, halted at Vidiśā and visited his mother Devī, who lodged him at Chetiyagiri[1] or Vidisāgiri[2] monastery. The parallel passages in Mahānāmo and Buddhaghoso mentioning Chetiyagiri and Vidisāgiri, respectively, make no difference in identification. Vidiśā was the city and the Chetiyagiri was the hill of the chaityas at Sāñchī which was a suburb of Vidiśā, and thus both the terms Chetiyagiri and Vidisāgiri refer to one and the same place.[3] Leaving Sāñchī alone, none of the neighbouring hills of Vidiśā contains any remains belonging to the Mauryan age. The brick stūpa and the Edict Pillar were found on the hill of Sāñchī and therefore scholars[4] have correctly identified Chetiyagiri with the hill of Sāñchī which was not far off from the ancient city of Vidiśā.

The word Chetiyagiri in Pāli (Skt. Chaityagiri) literally means a hill with a *chaitya* or a relic mound. And in the light of this linguistic explanation too the hill of Sāñchī appears to be the lone spot in the vicinity of Vidiśā where the stūpas contain the relics of great saints.

One thing is to be noted here that Chetiyagiri is a general term. It has also been given to a hill in Śrī Laṅkā. When the relics of the Buddha were kept on the Misraka parvata in Śrī Laṅkā, it was renamed as Chaitya parvata.[5] Therefore Chetiyagiri should not be taken as a name of Sāñchī. It only refers to the famous chaitya there.

Kākanāda

The words *Kākaṇāya*, *Kākaṇāva* and *Kākanāda* are one and

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the same. The Saṁskrit word is Kākanāda which has been mentioned in two Gupta inscriptions dated G.E. 93 and 131.[6] Fleet has taken the word *Kākanāda* to mean 'the noise of the crow'.[7] But actually the meaning of the word is not clear. It may denote the habitation of crows on the hill or the recitation of prayers in chorus by the monks and nuns, as elsewhere the recitation of hymns by the Brāhmaṇas has been termed as the noise of frogs (*dādura dhuni*).[8]

Kākaṇāya and Kākaṇāva

Kākaṇāya and *Kākaṇāva* are the Prākṛt renderings of the Saṁskrit word *Kākanāda*. Here the consonant '*d*' has been dropped and the word remains '*Kākanā a*'. Since the double vowel '*āa*' is not easy to pronounce, the last vowel is converted into '*ya*' or '*va*' and the nasal '*na*' is converted into '*ṇa*'. Thus the Saṁskrit word *Kākanāda* becomes *Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva* in Prākṛt (*Kākanāda*>*Kākanāa*>*Kākaṇāa*>*Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva*). For example, the Saṁskrit word '*gata*' becomes '*gayā*' or '*gavā*' (*gata*>*gaa*>*gaya* or *gava*>*gayā* or *gavā*).

Kākaṇāya and *Kākaṇāva* occur in inscriptions generally recording the gifts of donors who were Buddhists speaking their own dialect, i.e., Prākṛt. Since these inscriptions pertain to the Śuṅga period,[9] they are earlier than those in Saṁskrit of the Gupta period. This has misled Sir John Marshall in ascertaining the earlier name of Sāñchī as *Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva* and the later one as *Kākanāda*.[10]

Kākaṇāya occurs in an inscription on a ground railing cross-bar of the Great Stūpa which reads—"*Kākaṇāye Bhagavato pamāṇa laṭṭhi*", 'the (height) measuring staff of the Bhagavat, i.e., Buddha at Kākaṇāya'.[11] This measuring rod (*pramāṇa yashṭi*) has been identified by Foucher with a motif carved out on the whole space of a pillar of the Northern Gateway.[12] Hence the identification of *Kākaṇāya* with the Great Stūpa is quite clear.

Other inscriptions mentioning *Kākaṇāva* certainly refer to the Great Stūpa by this term. An inscription on a pillar of the Eastern Gateway says—"He, who dismantles or causes to be dismantled, an arch or a rail of this *Kākaṇāva*, or causes it to be transferred to another church (*Āchāryakula*), (shall incur the sin) of the murderers of mothers, murderers of fathers, murderers of Arhats, of those who create schism in the Community, and of those who cause bloodshed—all such sinners (shall live in dirt)."[13] Similarly, another inscription covering both the pillars of the Western Gateway, just below the capitals, also prescribes the punishment of the same five sins for those "who dismantle or cause to be dismantled the stonework from this *Kākaṇāva*, or cause it to be transferred to another Church."[14]

In both these inscriptions, 'the arch, rail and the stonework of this *Kākaṇāva*' are quite indicative of it being the name of the Great Stūpa and not the name of Sāñchī, as stated by Sir John Marshall.[15]

A third inscription mentioning *Kākaṇāva* was found on a steatite casket (No. II) which reads—"*Kākaṇāva Pabhāsa Sihaṇā Dāna*".[16] Its Skt. rendering is *Kākanādasya Prabhāsasya Śishyāṇāṁ Dānam*. The word 'Pabhāsa' has different meanings, viz., 'light', 'enlightened', name of a person or place, etc. Therefore, the inscription can be translated differently. Majumdar has translated it as 'the gift of the pupils of the Light of Kākaṇāva'. He has taken Pabhāsa to mean 'light'. But 'Light of Kākaṇāva' does not convey any clear meaning. Taking this word as an adjective, meaning 'enlightened', the translation may be rendered as 'the gift of the enlightened pupils of Kākaṇāva'. If we take the word Pabhāsa as the name of a person, the inscription may be translated as 'the gift of the pupils of (*ācharya*) Prabhāsa of Kākaṇāva'. As a place name, Prabhāsa (*tīrtha*) also called Soma (*tīrtha*) of Saurashtra is well-known. But, here that meaning cannot be derived. Because Kākaṇāva was the name of the Great Stūpa or the local place, i.e., Sāñchī, and, therefore, Prabhāsa (in Saurashtra) of Kākaṇāva (Sāñchī) has no meaning. In case we take Pabhāsa to mean an *āśrama* or

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matha (a centre of learning), we shall have to translate the inscription as 'the gift of the pupils of the *āśrama* or college of Kākaṇāva'. But we know that in ancient times, pupils were known by their teachers and not by their colleges. So, 'the pupils of (*āchārya*) Prabhāsa of Kākaṇāva' seems to be more probable than 'the pupils of the college of Kākaṇāva'. It is confirmed when we take another inscription, No. 396, already mentioned, wherein a punishment of five sins has been prescribed for one who dismantles or causes to be dismantled an arch or a rail of this Kākaṇāva, or causes it to be transferred to another *āchārya-kula* or church. It clearly indicates that Sāñchī itself had an *āchārya-kula* one of whose *āchāryas* might have been a person named Prabhāsa. Another word of the inscription 'Sihanā' from Skt. *Śishyāṇām* may be explained as *Śishyāṇām>Sikkhānām>Sikhanām>Sihanām>Sihanā.*[17]

The inscriptions dated G.E. 93 and 131, both on the cross-bars of the ground railing of the Great Stūpa, refer to the Great Monastery (*Śrī mahāvihāra*) at *Kākanāda.*[18] Here the name *Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva* of the inscriptions of the Śuṅga period becomes *Kākanāda* in Saṁskrit, which is quite clear. Anyway, during the period from the second quarter of the second century B.C. to the middle of the fifth century A.D., the Great Stūpa was well-known by the name *Kākanāda.*

Boṭa-Śrī-Parvvata and Boṭa-Śrī-Mahāvihāra

In another inscription which belongs to the end of the seventh century A.D., the hill has been referred to by the name *Boṭa-Śrī-parvvata.*[19] Here the term *Kākanāda* is totally absent. The honorific term Śrī has been attached to the hill (*Śrī-parvvata*) which was previously attached to the monastery (*Śrī-mahāvihāra*). But the word *boṭa*, which previously preceded *Śrī-mahāvihāra*, here precedes *Śrī-parvvata.* Since these inscriptions referring to *Śrī-mahāvihāra* and *Śrī-parvvata* have been inscribed on the Great Stūpa, their identification with the monastery and the hill of the Great Stūpa itself, i.e., Sāñchī, cannot be ruled out. But what meaning is to be attached to the word *boṭa* in all these inscriptions is not quite certain. Fleet has taken it as another form of *poṭa*, which means 'the foundation of a house'.[20] But this meaning does not serve any purpose. The term *boṭa* (Prākṛt *boḍa*) is an adjective having another meaning—'religious' (*dhārmika* or *dharmishṭha*) and 'shaven head' (*muṇḍita mastaka*).[21] It is still in use in Gujarati. A monk with a shaven head is called *boḍo.*[22] Both these meanings are quite suitable when the word is attached either to *Śrī-mahāvihāra* or *Śrī-parvvata.*[23] Scholars have taken this word to be a suffix of the ancient name *Kākanāda,*[24] but this too does not elucidate the point. To us, it appears that since in the inscription of the seventh century A.D. the word *boṭa* comes as a prefix to *Śrī-parvvata*, it should therefore also be taken as a prefix to *Śrī-mahāvihāra* in the inscriptions of the Gupta period mentioned above and not as a suffix to Kākanāda, i.e., *Boṭa-Śrī-mahāvihāra* and *Boṭa-Śrī-parvvata.* And it is quite befitting the above meanings.

Sāñchī

When and how the place came to be known by its modern name Sāñchī is quite obscure. According to Cunningham, Sāñchī is a derivation of the word *Śānti.*[25] He refers to the Aśokan Pillar Edict found at Sāñchī, in which the Buddhist Church of the place has been read by him as *Śānti Sangha.*[26] But how the word Śānti came to be converted into the word *Sāñchī* is still open to question. That the Chinese transcript of the word *Śānti* into *Shā-chi* was responsible for the origin of the present name of Sāñchī, as Cunningham suggests,[27] can in no way be accepted. Travelling from *Kānyakubja* to Śrāvastī, Fa-hien came to the great kingdom of *Shā-che* (Legge, James, *The Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 54). According to James Legge, *Shā-che* should probably be *shā-khe*, making Cunningham's identification of the name with the present Saket still more likely (*ibid.*, footnote No. 4). Shā-che, in this context, can, in

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no way, be identified with the present Sāñchī, in M.P. which does not come between *Kānyakubja* and *Śrāvasti*, both in U.P. And therefore only Marshall describes the identification of Sāñchī with *Shā-che* of Fa-hien as false.[28] The Chinese form Shā-chi for the Indian word *Śānti* could have been popular among the Chinese-speaking peoples. But how was it popularised among the Indian masses having their own dialect and particularly when the place has been totally bypassed by the Chinese travellers? Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang have in their travel accounts not even a word to say about Sāñchī.[29] Sāñchī or Sāchī, according to Fleet, is probably a vernacular name connected in no way with the Saṁskrit, as *Kāchī-Kānākheḍā* (quite similar to *Sāñchī-Kānākheḍā*) and Māñchī are similar names of other villages in the neighbourhood of Sāñchī.[30]

The modern name Sāñchī appears to have been derived either from the word 'Sañchita', i.e., collected (*Sañchita*> *Sañchia*>*Sañchī*>*Sāñchī*) or '*Satya*', i.e., truth (*Satya*>*Sacha*> *Sachchī*>*Sāñchī*).[31] Since the pious relics of the Buddha and other saints were collected and kept there, the place might have been called '*Sañchita-sthāna*' (the place where something is collected) which with the passage of time might have first remained only '*Sañchita*' and subsequently might have been converted into the modern term '*Sāñchī*', as shown above.

It may be considered possible that in the time of Aśoka, the Buddhist Church at the hill was known by the name of the locality as *Sañchita-sthāna* or *Satya-sthāna*. But, subsequently from the time of the Śuṅgas, the Stūpa itself was given its own name as *Kākanāda*, which was quite different from the name of the place, and since then onwards, the Stūpa, and not the place, was referred to in the inscriptions by its own name, i.e., *Kākanāda*. We may presume that when the site of the Great Stūpa was left desolate and deserted, its name also got lost in oblivion. But the name of the locality *Sañchita-sthāna* was there, and when after 600 or 700 years the site was again discovered, it was renamed by its locality, which, by that time, had already adopted the modern nomenclature, as indicated above. It means the present form of the name, i.e., Sāñchī, must have taken its origin some time between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.

HISTORY OF SĀÑCHĪ

Hitherto, on the basis of archaeological evidence, scholars had come to believe that the history of Sāñchī begins with the reign of Aśoka in the third century B.C.[32] But recently an archaeological piece of evidence has revealed that the antiquity of Sāñchī goes back to a very remote age. In April, 1973, the author discovered certain rock-shelters in the hills of Nāgaurī and Sāñchī-Kānākheḍā. These rock-shelters contain a number of prehistoric paintings on the walls and ceilings depicting various forms of human and animal life including hunting, fighting, playing, dancing, riding, etc. A variety of domestic and wild animals, weapons, trees and symbols indicating some forms of rituals have also been depicted there.[33] This goes to show that like other places of Madhya Pradesh in India, Sāñchī was also inhabited by man in prehistoric times. Thus, the human history of Sāñchī starts as early as the prehistoric times.

The Mauryan age constitutes the second phase of the history of Sāñchī which started with Buddhist Church activities. How Sāñchī came to be a holy place is not known for certain. Perhaps, the hill of Sāñchī was selected by the Buddhists for their monastic activities due to its excellent position; firstly, the hill commanded an ideal situation which was 'far enough removed from the turmoil and distraction of the city, and sufficiently close to it to attract worshippers from its crowded thoroughfares'[34] like Veḷuvana and Mṛgadāya which were situated on the ourskirts of the cities, Rājagṛha and Vārāṇasī; and secondly, it was quite near the populous and prosperous city of Vidiśā, which was situated at the meeting point of the routes from Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī in the north and leading to Ujjayinī and Śūrpāraka in the south.

Since when Sāñchī turned into a Buddhist monastic centre

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is also not very clear. However, it may be certainly traced as far back as the third century B.C. Aśoka, while going to Ujjayinī as a viceroy to his father king Bindusāra, halted at Vidiśā and fell in love with Devī or Vidisādevī, the daughter of a local banker,[35] who later gave birth to Mahendra and Saṁghamitrā. On the demise of his father when Aśoka went to the capital and ascended the throne, Devī did not follow him,[36] because Āsandhimitrā was already there as the chief queen (*agg-mahishī*). Perhaps, she preferred the life of a nun to that of a junior queen. This is quite sufficient to suggest that Buddhist activities in Vidiśā area were already established before the advent of Aśoka. It is not totally improbable that the site was originally sanctified by a branch of the Śākyas who might have built a stūpa at the same spot enshrining the relics of the Buddha prior to the Mauryan emperor Aśoka. But the surmise still requires an archaeological support.

Devī is described as having caused the construction of the Great Vihāra of Vidisāgiri[37] which seems to have been the first of the architectural monuments of Sāñchī. We may identify this monastery either with Temple No. 40 which in its original plan was an apsidal structure and was reconstructed during the period of the Śuṅgas, as is evidenced from some Brāhmī inscriptions on the pillars, or with Temple No. 18, the excavations of which by Marshall have revealed the traces of many floors, the lowest being the work of the Maurya or Śuṅga epoch.[38] And in order to please and satisfy his spouse,[39] Aśoka might have brought Sāñchī into the limelight by constructing a brick stūpa[40] and erecting a monolithic pillar with a royal decree against schism in the Buddhist community. The lower part of this pillar is still *in situ* near the Southern Gateway, other broken pieces with inscription are lying under a shade on the hill and the capital is kept in the Museum.

That the stūpa was constructed by Aśoka is still open to question in the absence of any concrete evidence. Marshall examined the position critically and maintained that the brick stūpa at Sāñchī was constructed by Aśoka.[41] But the possibility of its construction by his spouse Devī cannot certainly be ruled out. It might have been included in the construction of the Great Vihāra by her.

The setting of the Pillar at the Sāñchī hill by Aśoka with an Edict on it warning the monks and nuns against their destructive activities marks out the degenerating trends in the Buddhist monastic establishment there, and this fact also indicates that a period of peace and unity in the Sangha had preceded the royal efforts there.

At Sāñchī the art activities of the Śuṅga age are both numerous and various. These include the construction of the two stūpas now known as Stūpa No. 2 and Stūpa No. 3. The ground railing of the former stūpa was also erected during this period. And the Mauryan brick-built stūpa was enlarged by stone-casing and encircled by two stone railings, one massive on the ground and the other smaller on the plinth (*medhī*) to provide and secure the path for circumambulation (*pradakshiṇā*). That both of these balustrades are contemporaneous is proved by the inscriptions mentioning a nun Achalā,[42] Idadata (Indradatta)[43] and Isidattā (Ṛshidattā), the wife of Sakadinā[44] on both of them.

The next period of Sāñchī deals with the most magnificent work of Indian workmanship. It was during the reign of the Sātavāhanas or Āndhras that the Great Gateways of Sāñchī stūpas (four around the Great Stūpa and one around Stūpa No. 3), profusely decorated with carvings, were erected over the entrances on the cardinal points. It is clear from an inscription on the Southern Gateway which records the donation of one of its architraves by a person named Ānanda who was an alderman of the artisans of the Āndhra king Śrī Śātakarṇi.[45] The ground railing was also attached to Stūpa No. 3 during this period.

The period between the Āndhras and the Imperial Guptas appears to have been dull and uneventful. The only remains which we find pertaining to this period are some coins of the Kshatrapa kings[46] and a few sculptures in the Kushāṇa style, one

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of which bears an inscription of Vāsishka dated the year 28.[47]

The history of Sāñchī contains in its next phase several fine works of the classical age. Temple Nos. 17 and 18 and four large images of the Buddha in *dhyāna* posture placed along the wall of the plinth facing the Gateways are indicative of building activities in the period of the Imperial Guptas. Many detached images have also been found. One statue of a nāgī in front of Temple No. 31 is still *in situ*. Besides this architectural and sculptural evidence, some epigraphic records of the period are also available. Two inscriptions of the G.E. 93 and 131 were recorded on the cross-bars of the ground railing of the Great Stūpa.[48]

The remains of the mediaeval period surviving at the hill of Sāñchī are many structures on the Eastern terrace, numbering 43 to 50, including Building No. 44, Temple No. 45, and ground plans of Monastery Nos. 46-47, several detached carvings, images and small votive stūpas.

Thus, right from prehistoric times to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Sāñchī remained a centre of human habitation with artistic and religious activities. Later on, Sāñchī hill appears to have been deserted.

Discovery and Destruction

It is rather surprising that during the Muslim onslaught these charming monuments of Sāñchī were left untouched even when the new city of Bhilsā (Bhailasvāmin), which grew on the site of the ancient Vidiśā, suffered many a time from the attacks of the Muslim conquerors. All the three stūpas (Great Stūpa or Stūpa No. 1, Stūpa No. 2 and Stūpa No. 3), which still survive, were entire and in good condition when seen for the first time in 1818 by Colonel Taylor and then by Captain E. Fell and Dr. Yeld.[49] Burgess and Marshall have given a detailed account of the discovery and destruction of these stūpas, caused by some amateur archaeologists and treasure-hunters.[50] Captain Johnson, the Asstt. Political Agent in Bhopal, was responsible for opening and demolishing all the three stūpas and causing irreparable damage to all of them.[51] Then Captain F.C. Maisey prepared for the government an illustrated report upon these monuments, their sculptures and inscriptions after working from 1849-50 to 1850-51. In January 1851 he was joined by Major A. Cunningham.[52] Their joint efforts led to the discovery of the original Mauryan stūpa built of brick (16″ × 10″ × 3″) beneath the Great Stūpa and the relic caskets of Stūpa Nos. 2 and 3. The exploration of Stūpa No. 2 by Cunningham in 1851 also resulted in the complete destruction of the dome which had been partly damaged already by Captain Johnson in 1822.[53]

An Interesting Anecdote Regarding the Removal of the Gateways to England

Some documents preserved in the National Archives narrate how efforts were made to shift the marvellous Gateways of the Great Stūpa to England and how an English gentleman intervened and succeeded in securing their restoration to their original places.[54] The sketches copied out from Sāñchī reliefs by William Murray in 1837 were so highly rated that the Government of India decided in 1848-49 to remove these Gateways to the British Museum. But the Directors of the East India Company suggested that only their replicas and not the original Gateways might be sent to England.

When Major Cunningham visited the site in 1851, he recommended that the two fallen gateways of the Sāñchī Tope should be removed to the British Museum, where they would form the most striking objects in a Hall of Indian Antiquities.[55] He is also stated to have suggested to the Begam of Bhopal to present these Gateways to the Queen of England.[56] The former gladly agreed to it, and in 1853 she requested the Queen through the Government of India to accept her present of these *toraṇas*. The Begam was ready to bear the expenses of the transportation upto Bombay port.[57] The request was

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ultimately accepted in 1854 by the Court of Directors and orders were passed on to the Political Agent in Bhopal to carry out the work of dismantling. The Political Agent Mr. Hamilton had since been transferred and the new Agent, Captain Eden, was not in favour of the transfer of these valuable specimens of Indian art. In the meantime (1856), a difference of opinion cropped up on questions of expenditure and means of transportation. Captain Eden took advantage of the situation and the government at his request ordered the stoppage of the dismantling of the Gateways.[58] The next year 1857 was the year of the first War of Independence. In 1861, the department of the Archaeological Survey of India was established.

In 1868, Napoleon III requested the Begam of Bhopal to send one of these Gateways to France. But Sir John Lawrence, the then Viceroy, expressed deep dissatisfaction over the prospect of these art motifs being shifted from their original place.[59] At his suggestion in 1869, casts of the Eastern Gateway were prepared and presented to the principal national museums of Europe,[60] and thereafter the Archaeological Department of India took these monuments of Sāñchī under its own charge.

Preservation of the Monuments

The monuments, in the meantime, suffered damage at the hands of the neighbouring people who took away the bricks and stones for their own purposes until 1881, when the jungle at the hill-top was cleared by Major R.E. Cole, then the Curator of Ancient Monuments.[61] He also filled the breach in the Great Stūpa caused by Captain Johnson in 1822 and re-erected the fallen Gateways (Southern and Western Gateways of the Great Stūpa and the only Gateway of Stūpa No. 3). This work of repairs was directly supervised by Major Keith working under Captain Cole. However, his work of repairs and preservation was limited to the stūpas at the hill-top. Clearance of the debris, repairs to other buildings and the preservation of hundreds of loose sculptures and inscriptions lying about entailed extensive operations carried out by a zealous archaeologist, Sir John Marshall, between 1912 and 1919.[62]

Repairs and Restoration by Marshall

Marshall first cleared the jungle over the entire hill-top which has since again grown at a fast pace. He got the Southern and Eastern sides of the Great Stūpa cleared of the debris and through extensive excavations brought to light many structures including monastic biuldings. Marshall also took up the work of repairs. He reconstructed the south-west portion of the Great Stūpa and restored the stairway, berm and *harmikā* balustrades. His other works of repair include the reconstruction of the dome, balustrades and crowning umbrella of Stūpa No. 3, preservation of Temple No. 18 and repairs to Temple Nos. 17, 31, 32 and 45. He also built a museum building at the foot of the hill, where sculptures, inscriptions and other architectural fragments were arranged and catalogued. And in this way the glory of these monuments of Sāñchī was again restored.

Literature on Sāñchī Art and Architecture

Sāñchī monuments have attracted the attention of scholars throughout the world on account of their immense wealth of sculpture both in round and reliefs. As early as 1819, Captain E. Fell wrote a description of the buildings and sculptures at Sāñchī.[63] J.D. Cunningham, the Political Agent in Bhopal, also published his notes in 1847.[64] And afterwards there appeared a number of essays, monographs and illustrations of these stūpas, their architecture and sculpture.[65] The most notable of these are Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* (1854) covering the archaeological remains of the Buddhist edifices around Vidiśā in which he spared a considerable space for the description of the Sāñchī stūpas, Fergusson's *Tree And Serpent*

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Worship (1868) mainly based on the sculptures of Sāñchī and Amarāvatī stūpas, Maisey's *Sāñchī And Its Remains* (1892) in which he also reproduced the bas-reliefs on the stūpas in his own line drawings and *The Monuments of Sāñchī* (1940) edited by Marshall.

The last work is a voluminous one. It was published in three folio volumes, the first with the text and the second and third with plates representing the architectural and sculptural grandeur of the Sāñchī stūpas and other monuments. In this monumental work, Marshall has described the monuments and their sculptures, Foucher has given the religious interpretation of these reliefs and N.G. Majumdar has edited and translated the inscriptions found on the buildings at Sāñchī. This costly publication was brought out with financial help received from the Begam of Bhopal. Through this publication, Marshall has done pioneer work in the field of the study of Indian art and archaeology.

SCULPTURES ON STŪPAS

Of all the monuments enumerated above, Stūpa Nos. 1 to 3 provide the most splendid specimens of an elaborate carving in bas-relief. It is well known that the carving of the Southern Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī was done by the ivory carvers of Vidiśā. The fact is known from an inscription found on a pillar of the same gateway: '*Vedesikehi dantakārehi rūpakammaṁ kataṁ*'.[66] This epigraphical evidence not only identifies the city of Vidiśā as a centre of ivory carvers but also reveals their master craftsmanship. Scholars observe that with all their diversity of style and inequality of technique, the sculptures on the Sāñchī *toraṇas* are essentially homogeneous and readily recognisable as the products of one and the same school of art.[67]

The architectural and sculptural techniques of the Sāñchī gateways are evidently those applied in a softer material like wood or ivory which was quite in vogue before the advent of the Mauryas who replaced wood by stone for building purposes. The ivory carvers of Sānchī must have been the master craftsmen and have earned great fame. It is very clear from the fact that they were entrusted with the responsibility of such a huge and tremendous work like the carving in stone, a harder material than wood and ivory. In the beginning, it must have posed a real difficulty to the artisans who had to cut material harder than wood or ivory. But soon they became experts and were engraving on stone as easily and excellently as wood or ivory. The skill and the refinement of the sculptures which the artists produced at Sāñchī, no doubt, mark out their art as of first rank which must have been more advanced and refined on a comparatively softer material like ivory. Through a close examination of the ivory pieces of Indian origin found so far, the influence of the Sāñchī style of sculptures on most of them is quite evident.[68]

Low and High Relief

Stone carving at Sāñchī starts with the execution and erection of the ground balustrade of Stūpa No. 2, the art of which comes first of all the artistic remains of the early classical phase in the history of stylistic development. Technically speaking, the sculptural carvings on the ground rail pillars of Stūpa No. 2 are executed in very low and flat relief almost on linear patterns and the artist was following the law of 'frontality' and 'memory picture'.[69] Human figures are stiff and primitive. But a great advance is evident in case of the decorative designs. Flora and fauna are sculptured with remarkable success.

The artist achieved great perfection not long after when he produced the most splendid and wonderful gateways (*toraṇas*) during the period of the Sātavāhanas. Now free from primitive techniques, he exhibited a fine sense of composition and modelling in high relief following nature faithfully and directly with easy postures and harmonious forms from shoulders to

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ankles. The human body now appears well-defined and beautiful. And not only this, the artist also attained mastery in the technique of expressing the subtle, violent or serene moods of men and women, not merely in figure and face, but also in symbolic movements expressed through the shaded curves of stone.[70]

Panorama of Life

Sāñchī art depicts a panorama of contemporary life. The ground rail pillars of Stūpa No. 2 and the five gateways, four of the Great Stūpa and one of Stūpa No. 3, preserve an encyclopaedia of sights and scenes depicting the culture and civilization of the time. The present cultural study, therefore, draws heavily upon the art of these stūpas for its material.

Religious Facet

The depiction is numerous as well as various. The primary facet of Sāñchī art is religious. Within a Buddhist frame, it includes the Jātaka stories or the stories of the previous lives of the Buddha, important events of his life[71] and subsequent history of the Buddhist creed. Since the art is democratic in nature, it provides sufficient representation of the popular cults of Śrī-Lakshmī, Brahmā, Śakra or Indra and many other semi-gods and goddesses including yaksha-yakshīs, nāga-nāgīs, gandharvas, kinnaras and dikpālas.

Real and Mundane Picture of Life

The primary aim of the art of these Buddhist stūpas might have been to promote the new faith among the masses but the artists who were men of the world obviously portrayed the world as they saw it in real life in the expressive language of Buddhism. With the representation of the Buddhist motifs, the sculptors have actually drawn a real and mundane picture of the time. Moreover, it was not only the artist but the donor also who had a say in the choice of the subject and the style of representation on the panels. With the variety of outlook and feeling in the artists as well as the donors, the sculptures of the Sāñchī stūpas express various shades and forms of life and labour in ancient India.

Life in its Entirety

Śuṅga art in general and Sāñchī art in particular are the earliest to represent contemporary life in its entirety. The reliefs on the gateways and the railing pillars of these stūpas give a panoramic view of ancient Indian life. They represent human, animal and floral exuberance. Men and women, the rich and the poor, princes and commoners, hunters and hermits, soldiers and servants, art and architecture, arms and armour, dress and ornaments, conveyances and means of recreation, dance and music—life in a thousand aspects both rural and urban has been depicted on the panels of these stūpas at Sāñchī.

This art of Sāñchī belongs to the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, i.e., from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. A great deal of information regarding the life of the people of that period is available through contemporary literature. Sāñchī art provides us with plastic evidence. The art panels on the Sāñchī stūpas are like films screening living society. Depicted on them are advancing and fleeing armies, war in operation, fortifications, royal processions, kings at court and people enjoying waters-ports, joy-rides, drinking, dancing, music and picnics. Nothing is forgotten—neither life at court nor existence in town, in the country or in the jungles. In the following pages, different aspects of life as represented in Sāñchī sculptures will be described in separate chapters.

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11. Majumdar, N.G., *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 295, Inscription No. 17b, p. 301.
12. *Manuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XXXVIIa.
13. Majumdar, N.G., *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Inscription No. 396, p. 341—
    "*yo ito Kākaṇāvato toraṇa vedikā vā*
    upāḍeyā upāḍāpeyā vā anaṁ vā āchāriyakulaṁ
    saṁkameyā so mati-ghātina pīti-ghātina arahaṁta-ghātina rudhir-upāyakena saṁgha-bhe(dena) . . . te duchita . . . nasa pāpā
    kārina save ma patipāe".
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    "*pach-ānatariya kārakāna gatiṁ gachheya*
    yo ito kākaṇāvato selakame upāḍeya upāḍāpeya vā ānaṁ vā āchāriyakulaṁ saṁkāmeyā tase te pātakā bhaveya".
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27. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 116; *CII*, Vol. 3, p. 29.
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30. *CII*, Vol. 3, p. 29; *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 116.
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32. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 7; *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 2.
33. A short study of these cave-paintings has been done by the author in one of his articles, 'Prehistoric Cave-paintings in the Hills of Sāñchī-Kānākherā and Nāgaurī, *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Jan. 1976), pp. 107-09, pls. I-III
34. *Mahāvagga*, I.16; cf. *Chullavagga*, VI.2 (*S.B.E.*, XIII, p. 143).
35. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XIII.8-12. *Mahābodhivaṁsa* calls her Vedisā-Mahādevī, Śākyānī and Śākya Kumārī (Mookerjee, R.K., *Aśoka*, p. 8).
36. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XIII.12.
37. *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, '*tayā kārāpitaṁ vedisāgiri mahāvihāraṁ*' (see Mookerjee, R.K., *Aśoka*, p. 8). Cf. Buddhaghosa's commentary on *Mahāvaṁsa*, XIII.
38. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, pp. 124 and 115 respectively.
39. Cf. Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 15, ". . . not because Vidiśā was one of the great cities of his empire but because he wished to honour it as the birth place of the beautiful Devī, and a spot invested with specially happy memories for himself."
40. A brick-stūpa constructed of the Maurya brick 16″×10″×3″ was found buried below the present Great Stūpa of the Śuṅga period. See Marshall's *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 33.
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48. Majumdar, N.G., *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Inscription Nos. 833 and 834, p. 388.
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68. Cf. Douglas Barrett, *Ter*, p. 9; Motichandra, 'Ancient Indian Ivories', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 6, p. 25; Agrawala, R.C., 'Early Indian Bone Figurines in the National Museum, New Delhi', *East and West*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3-4, p. 312; Davidson, J. Le Roy, 'Begram Ivories And Early Indian Sculptures', *Aspects of Indian Art*, pp. 1-14; 'Begram Ivories and Indian Stones', *Mārg*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, pp. 31-44.
69. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 10.
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71. Marshall (*A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 44) has enumerated the important events of Buddha's life as four—the Birth, the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Death. But, the Great Departure or *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* has also been regarded as an important event of his life and befitting its importance, the whole space of the middle architrave of the Eastern Gateway has been occupied by its illustration.

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CHAPTER II

DRESS AND DRAPERY

SINCE the dawn of human civilization, dress has primarily served the purpose of covering the body and protecting it from cold and heat. Regional, seasonal and climatic conditions have naturally always played a dominant role in determining the form and shape of the dress worn by the inhabitants of a particular region. Necessarily, except for a limited section of society in the higher strata and in the urban areas, the vast majority of common people living in tropical areas of our country preferred a dress which was at once simple, light and almost scanty.[1] But considerations of sex, social status, economic standards and the need to satisfy functional, decorative and aesthetic purposes also went into the making of the dresses of the people of the times. People had a fondness for good dress and wanted to be well-clad.[2] References to Indian robes worked in gold, ornamented with precious stones[3] and scented with different fragrances[4] make it evident that love of finery and ornaments went side by side with the pronounced simplicity and lightness of dress in vogue in ancient times. This fact is amply and vividly borne out by the figures, both male and female, sculptured on the railings and gateways of the stūpas at Sāñchī.

Of course, sculptural representations cannot bear witness to the fragrance of flowers but there is a wealth of literary evidence to confirm the fact that the practice was widely prevalent, and even today scent is smeared on clothes on auspicious occasions and festivals like marriages and *Holi*. It is also not easy to identify with any degree of certainty the fibres used in the dress represented in the Sāñchī sculptures except in a few cases which we have discussed below. However, we find frequent mention in ancient Indian literature of cotton, silken and woollen clothes which were very much in use.[5] Presence of washermen (*rajaka*) and dyers (*rañjaka*) in contemporary society makes it quite clear that garments were washed and coloured according to the taste of the wearer.[6]

Sewn Garments

Sāñchī sculptures depict a number of figures wearing sewn garments. Therefore, before we take up the dresses represented in Sāñchī sculptures, it is both necessary and interesting to discuss here some of the moot points often raised in connection with the dress of various sections of society in ancient India. First and foremost is the question whether sewn garments were in use and if so, when and how they came into use in a particular section of society.

According to a view, from the sixth century B.C. onwards, the West was coming closer to the East through contacts, both commercial and cultural. This meeting of the two cultures inevitably left its impact on the ways of life of the people, and this foreign contact is responsible in casting considerable influence on Indian dress with the advent particularly of the

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Śakas from Central Asia and the Greeks from Europe. It is said that the Śakas introduced the coats and trousers and the Greeks the tight-fitting jerkin and cloak, while the traditional turban was replaced by various kinds of caps. The surmise, sometimes, goes to such an extent that the sewn garments were for the first time introduced in India by these foreigners.

But this view is untenable. No doubt, sewn garments are the later developments in the history of dress. Previously, only long pieces of cloth were wrapped up. But this ruling applies not only to Indian society but to the whole human civilization. As regards India, the tropical land, it is true that the *dhotī* and *uttarīya* found favour with the bulk of the people in the upper classes but militarymen, the working people and the domestic servants found it both useful and convenient to use sewn garments for specific purposes. Therefore, the conclusion that sewn garments were popular with certain sections of Indian society for functional purposes is inescapable. The art of knitting and sewing or stitching in India is as old as Vedic literature. It is evident from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII.7.2.11, that 'knitting and sewing or stitching were supposed to be the duty of women'.[7] Ancient Indian literature is full of references to needles (*sūchī*),[8] scissors (*satthaka*)[9] and thimbles (*pratigraha* or *aṅguśtānā*).[10] Sharp needles find mention in the *Jātakas*[11] and Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*.[12] A reference to a tailor (*tunnavāya*) in a contemporary law book confirms that sewn garments were in use.[13] Since the above-noted foreigners belonged to cold climatic regions, they were using heavy and sewn garments. And we must accept that in certain cases they influenced Indians to adopt their designs and modes of dress.

Sāñchī sculptures represent all ranks, classes and sections of society—kings, queens, nobles, military officials, ascetics, hunters, attendants and the common people. In the following pages, the peculiarities of style and fashion of dress and other accoutrement of each of these classes are dealt with in some detail.

MALE DRESS

The male dress as depicted in the Sāñchī sculptures consists of a pair of garments—an upper and a lower one, arranged gracefully in an endless variety of styles. There was very little difference in the number of items between the dress of a royal person and a commoner.

The Upper Garments

The upper garments mainly included the *ushṇīsha* (head-gear), *uttarīya* (scarf) and the *kañchuka* (tunic).

Ushṇīsha (turban)

Head coverings go back to very remote times in India. *Śiprā*[14] of the *Ṛgveda* was a sort of helmet evidently used only by soldiers in battle. But the *ushṇīsha* of the Vrātyas of *Prāchī*, as it was bright and white as day,[15] was a turban evidently made of some cotton stuff like muslin. An elaborate and sometimes ornamented fan-shaped head-dress was commonly used by the Harappan people.

In Sāñchī sculptures, the head of both the males and females is always shown covered, barring exceptions of foreigners and genii. Various styles of turbans both simple and elaborate are beautifully carved out. Simple turbans[16] (Figs. 3.4, 6, 9, 13) sometimes even without crest[17] (Figs. 3.8; 9.10) were normally worn by attendants. Persons of rank, represented at Sāñchī like those at Bharhut,[18] Bodhagayā[19] and Bhājā[20] had a voluminous turban in the manner of a *pheṭā* or wrap with a fluff over it. Apparently, it was a long piece of cloth wrapped round the head, layer upon layer mostly in a manner that a circular ball either of cloth or of hair formed a sort of crest in the front (Figs. 3.1, 4, 17, 18; Pls. VI-IX). A relief on the Prasenjit Pillar at Bharhut depicts a man holding with his left hand the crest and with his right hand the long falling cloth of the

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turban.[21] It throws ample light on the manner of wearing the turban.

The crest in front was made in various forms. Generally it was round but it was also made in the shape of a conch-shell kept vertically (Fig. 3.10) or horizontally (Figs. 3.5, 15) and also in a cylindrical shape (Figs. 3.3, 5, 11, 14; Pl. LXX).

The turban specially is to be studied to identify a royal person in a group of people. The *ushṇīshas* or turbans of kings, princes, nobles and persons of high social status are shown wrapped in different fashions, lavishly decorated and elaborately bejewelled with ornaments, gems and other precious stones, intersected into the layers of turbans. It is very clear from the turbans of some Nāga kings with a cylindrical projection above the wraps (Figs. 3.1, 3, 11),[22] of a king on a chariot and another on an elephant enjoying water-sport with a projection in the shape of a conch-shell (Figs. 3.5, 10),[23] of prince Viśvantara with a round and bejewelled projection (Fig. 3.14)[24] and of the Lokapālas on the Northern Gateway with more than one high spherical mass of hair or cloth (Figs. 3.12, 17, 18).

Caps

Caps of different varieties, circular and conical, were in use. Generally these were plain as worn by the Mallas[25] (Pls. IX.15; LIX.2) but the fashion of embroidered caps was also in vogue.

A curly-headed man fighting with a lion depicted on a corner pillar (No. 88b) of Stūpa No. 2 wears a round cap decorated with round beads along the edges (Fig. 9.13; Pl. LXXVI).

Fillets

The fillet or lace, a thin band of cloth, was also used for wrapping round the head and thus preventing the hair from falling over the face. Examples of such fillets have been witnessed in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. A man fighting with a crocodile,[26] six persons on an orchestra panel[27] and the *kumbhāṇḍas*, the short-statured and pot-bellied figures[28] have their crinkled hair tied with a fillet (Fig. 9.14). Sometimes a decorated band was used for the purpose. A gate-keeper[29] wears a fillet adorned with square plaques on the sides and a big flower-like jewel in front. This may be called either a *svarṇa-paṭṭikā* or *ratna-paṭṭikā* (Fig. 9.12). This fashion of fillet is as old as the Harappan civilization. The hair of the famous steatite head of a bearded person, wearing a trefoil patterned shawl, is seen tied with a lace.[30] It is found fairly common in the Gupta period and continues till today. Indian villagers still keep a small piece of cloth on their shoulders which they call *aṅgauchhā* or *gamachhā* and they occasionally wrap it round their forehead, keeping the knot on a side. This style reminds us of the use of the fillet in the olden days.

Other Peculiar Head-Gears

Sometimes a broad band around the face was attached with the turban of a soldier or a guard[31] (Fig. 9.7).

Stūpa No. 2 also provides examples of some peculiar and curious head-dresses. A medallion[32] depicts a man whose head-dress includes a beaded band round his forehead. In the centre above the forehead, there is a large circle with a hole in its centre and flanked by two wing-like projections, apparently feathers, which mark off the bearer as a jungle-dweller or hunter (Fig. 9.8). Another interesting style of the head-dress is a band of three wraps and above this band there is a projection in the form of a butterfly attached in front[33] (Fig. 9.11; Pl. LXXVIII).

Uttarīya

Another upper garment was a scarf known as *uttarīya*. It was widely in vogue among males during the days of the

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Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas. However, its use was confined to the kings, nobles and persons of high social status. This fact is well attested by the sculptural representations at Sāñchī where the *uttarīya* is generally depicted as being worn by the gods, kings and nobles. Kubera, Sakka, Lokapālas, Bimbisāra, Aśoka, Nāgarāja Muchalinda and the gods of heaven have been shown clad in the *uttarīya*.

This *uttarīya* or scarf was variously worn. At times it was wrapped about by passing it over one shoulder and below the armpit of the other (Fig. 4.4).[34]

Sometimes the scarf was worn with both the ends coming from the back through the armpits passed over the shoulders and falling down at the back (Fig. 4.9).[35] Sometimes its ends coming from the back and making a cross on the chest passed over the shoulders and remained hanging at the back (Fig. 4.5)[36] or floating in the air[37] (Figs. 42.2, 4).

Another fashion of wearing the *uttarīya* constituted a wrap round the neck, went down at the back from a shoulder passing through the armpit of the other side and again fell down at the back over the same shoulder. In this way, one end remained at the back and the other end in front, apparently both of them hanging[38] (Figs. 4.7, 8).

With a slight difference, the scarf flying at the back, almost like a cloak, was also used in olden days (Fig. 4.6).[39] Agrawala identifies it with the *âcchâdanaka*.[40] The style marks the cloth to be an apron or a Greek cloak which is attested by the curly hair of its wearer. A man with a knot below his neck, made of two bands coming from the back over the shoulders, also appears to have been dressed in a similar cloak (Figs. 7.8, 9).[41]

Wearing of this garment was a very old fashion which is quite evident from its references in ancient literature. The wrapper was known to Pāṇini as *bṛhatikā*,[42] the same as *bāhatikā* in Pāli canons.[43] *Bṛhatikā*, as is evident from its nomenclature, appears to have been a longer piece of cloth reaching below the waist and sometimes to the ankles. References to a bejewelled and embroidered *uttarīya* are also found in Saṁskrit dramas of Kālidāsa[44] and Śūdraka.[45]

Kañchuka (tunic)

Though not very frequent, certain examples of a sewn upper garment have been found on the panels of the Sāñchī gateways. The sewn garment for males has variously been referred to in ancient Indian literature. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Amarakośa* mention it as a dress of soldiers.[46] Curtius refers to it as a cotton garment.[47] In the time of the Buddha, the *kañchuka* was worn by both males and females.[48]

The *kañchuka* appears to have been of a number of varieties, depending on the size of sleeves as well as its length. A number of varieties of the garment are found depicted in the panels of the Sāñchī gateways. A full-sleeved *kañchuka*, generally reaching below the navel, is worn by every member of an orchestra party (Fig. 7.2; Pl. LX).[49] Here the garment is quite plain and simple. The full-sleeved and close-fitting *kañchuka* of a man, fighting with a crocodile, appears, due to vertical ribs on it, to be made of some thick material and filled with cotton (Fig. 7.4; Pl. LXXIV).[50] It appears to be a prototype of *baṇḍī*, still used by people in winter. Another example of a full-sleeved *kañchuka* is to be noticed with slanting plaits which make the whole design curious and interesting (Fig. 7.3).[51]

Examples of half-sleeved *kañchukas* are seen on an elephant-rider and some lion-riders represented on the Western Gateway (Figs. 7.8, 7).[52]

A relief on the ground balustrade of Stūpa No. 2 provides an example of an embroidered *kañchuka* with very short sleeves. On one corner pillar, there is a panel representing a curly-haired man with a shield defending himself against attack by a lion. He wears a *kañchuka* with very short sleeves. It is also embroidered at the edges and extends upto the waist (Fig. 7.1; Pl. LXXVI).[53] Marshall has taken this man to be a foreigner on the basis of his cap. To him the cap appears to

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be a Phrygian one. But this opinion does not seem to be conclusive. We know it well that embroidery was a common feature in ancient Indian garments.

The Lower Garments

Dhotī

The lower garments include *dhotī*, *kaṭivastra*, trousers and *tahband*. The *dhotī*[54] was primarily the main lower garment of both men and women and there are numerous cases where the *dhotī* constitutes the only garment on the body. It was worn by both men and women in *sakachchha* fashion, i.e., one end of the *dhotī* was rolled around the waist and the other was passed between the legs and tucked up at the back. The style was the same as adopted by the males or Maharashtra women even today. The yaksha figure standing at the top of the Northern Gateway,[55] sitting people in a panel on its west pillar (Pl. XXXII)[56] and the merry-making Māra's armymen on its middle architrave (Pl. XIII)[57] provide an example of the *sakachchha* fashion of wearing the *dhotī*.

On the basis of the evidence provided by the Sāñchī sculptures, it is evident that during the period of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas, the mode of wearing the *dhotī* among the people belonging to the lower and higher strata was slightly different. In the case of the commoners, it was a bit shorter reaching up to the knees of its wearer (Figs. 5.1-3), while in the case of people of the higher classes, it was slightly larger, generally reaching midway to the ankles (Figs. 4.4, 5; 5.4, 5, 6). The distinction can be observed even today. The *dhotī* of the village-folk hardly covers their knees, while that of the people of the higher ranks in the urban areas goes down upto their ankles. And this practice prevails not only in Maharashtra but also throughout the country.

The male figures of the Sāñchī sculptures have been shown putting on the *dhotī* mostly in one and the same style by rolling one end around their waist and tucking up the other at the back. The excess of the long loin-cloth was gathered together and shown hanging zigzag in front. Sometimes one part of the *dhotī* was wrapped round the waist and the other part fell passing over the left arm (Fig. 5.9)[58] or occasionally wrapped over the left shoulder (Figs. 4.2, 3).[59]

Kaṭivastra or Nīvī

In order to keep the *dhotī* securely in place, another piece of long cloth was used as a belt which was tied round the waist over the upper edges of the *dhotī* with a knot and with its two ends falling in front (Figs. 5.2, 4, 5; 6.3). It cannot always be said that it is one end of *dhotī* itself, because in that case the hanging of both of its ends was not possible. In ancient terminology, this belt-cloth was sometimes called the *nīvī*[60] or the *kaṭivastra* being very much what we know as the *kamarabandha* or waist-band.

This *kaṭivastra* was fastened in a variety of styles. Mostly it was knotted in front. This front knotting of the waist-band[61] can be seen in the figures of a *chaurī*-bearer yaksha (Fig. 5.4) and a *dvārapāla* (Fig. 5.6; Pl. VI).[62] Here a very elaborate kind of *kaṭivastra* is noticeable.

Sometimes the waist-band was knotted on either side of the waist. Animal riders represented on some false capitals have tied their belt-cloth on one side, either to left or to right[63] (Figs. 6.4, 5). Sometimes it was wrapped round the waist in a quite loose fashion with the long corners falling down to the ankles[64] (Figs. 6.1, 2).

A peculiar style of fastening the waist-band is found in the case of foot soldiers and attendants. In this style, a thick cord-like cloth was wrapped round the waist in two, three, four or even more layers reaching upto the breast, and sometimes these layers crossed one another. This style of the belt has been worn by the foot soldiers[65] (Fig. 6.9). An archer,[66] a *bahaṅgīman*[67] and an attendant holding an ewer[68] have the

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waist-band of two, three and four layers, respectively, along with another crossing over them in front (Figs. 6.6, 8).

Trousers

A very clear specimen of trousers can be seen on one of the animal riders represented on a toraṇa pillar.[69] His trousers go half way down to his knees (Fig. 7.7).

Literary evidence for the use of trousers is found as early as Mauryan times. A reference to *sampuṭikā* in the *Arthaśāstra* confirms the use of trousers in the Mauryan age.[70] Motichandra identifies the word *sampuṭkā* with *sūtranaddha* and also with the later term *suthanā*,[71] while Agrawala terms it as *svasthāna*.[72]

There are a few interesting and significant examples of the use of the half-nicker (*ardhoruka* or *jāṅghīyā*) in the Sāñchī panels wherein it is to be noticed as worn by a goat-rider[73] and a man fighting with a crocodile.[74] The vertical ribs on the dress of the fighter suggest that it was apparently made of some thick material (Fig. 7.4; Pl. LXXIV).

Tahband

The Mallas of the orchestra party are seen wrapped in a *tahband*-like piece of cloth (Fig. 7.2; Pl. LX).[75] Marshall describes this garment as taenia.[76] But it cannot be said with certainty that it was a sewn garment. Almost a similar *tahband* is worn by some archers (Figs. 5.7, 8; Pl. XXXIII).[77]

Most interesting and quite unusual is the lower dress of the curly-headed man defending himself with his shield from an attack by a lion.[78] He wears a very loose and plaited short skirt like the skirt worn by women of Rājasthān in our own time (Fig. 7.1; Pl. LXXVI). In modern terminology, we may call it *ghāgharā* or *lahaṅgā*.

Motichandra very aptly suggests a word *chalanikā* for it.[79]

FOOTWEAR

Boots

Though not very frequent, quite a few examples of footwear are to be seen in Sāñchī sculptures. One of the winged lion-riders is dressed in high boots.[80] Long and high boots have also been shown as being worn by the man fighting with a lion, just described above. At the top and on the bend his boots are decorated apparently with bands and round beads[81] (Fig. 34.4; Pl. LXXVI). Similarly, the man fighting with the crocodile on Stūpa No. 3 also wears high boots (Fig. 34.5; Pl. LXXIV).

Sandals and Leggings

Very clear examples of sandals and leggings are found in the panel depicting the dedication of a stūpa by the Mallas on the Northern Gateway and in a panel representing a couple of goat-riders on a false-capital of the Eastern Gateway (Figs. 7.2; 34.6).

Dhavalikar observes the presence of sandals similar to modern *hawāī chappals* in the Viśvantara Jātaka scene represented in Marshall's *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Pl. XXIX.[82] But no such specimen is to be noticed in the plate referred to above nor in the bas-relief itself.

A close examination shows that normally, people represented in Sāñchī bas-reliefs do not use footwear. The specimens described above are found on the persons who were either hunters or fighters. Motichandra observes that the absence of shoes in Sāñchī sculptural art is due to the long established injunction and practice that shoes are not to be worn in sacred places.[83] Puri is also of opinion that it is against the custom of the country to put on shoes in places of worship.[84] But the argument does not carry conviction, because if we accept this view, we shall have no explanation for the representation

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of shoes and sandals described above. Actually, Sāñchī art is quite secular and democratic in character. Therefore, we must not be surprised to find the representation of shoes and sandals in the bas-reliefs on the railings and gateways of the Sāñchī stūpas. However, it appears that shoes were put on occasionally. While riding out for hunting or fighting against wild animals or creatures people were using boots and leggings. This fact is duly attested by the representations of shoes in Sāñchī sculptures.

FEMALE DRESS

Nudity

It is notable that although the head of the female figures in Sāñchī panels is always covered with a piece of cloth which hangs at the back, their upper part of the body is generally open, revealing in full the bosom and the navel. And in the search for an explanation, scholars have sometimes gone very wide of the mark. Fabri makes the downright assertion that Indian women of all classes in contemporary society actually appeared in public without covering the upper part of their body.[85] But it is a view to which it is not easy to subscribe in the face of a mass of evidence, both literary and sculptural, to the contrary.

Agrawala is of opinion that in the time of Pāṇini, a veil of privacy was thrown on the ladies of the royal household.[86] Kautilya also refers to ladies who did not come out of the apartment even when engaged in activities connected with earning a livelihood.[87] The reference to *orodho* in Pāli texts,[88] *orodhavamhi* in an inscription of *Aśoka*[89] and *antaḥpurikāvṛtaṁ* in *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana[90] point to a harem system which did not admit of ladies being at liberty to come openly in contact with the public. Ladies of rank appeared in public only on four occasions—rituals, marriages, troubles and exile.[91] The observance of *avaguṇṭhana* or *purdā* system can be definitely proved to have been in vogue among the Rākshasas, on the basis of a statement of Mandodarī, wife of Rāvaṇa, who, on the death of Rāvaṇa, says, "Why do you not get angry on beholding me having put off my veils?"[92] Kālidāsa makes a very clear reference to the veil (*avaguṇṭhana*) which also indicates its use by ladies after marriage.[93] The *Mṛchchhakaṭikam* also refers to *avaguṇṭhana*, a dress of privacy, with which a *nagaravadhū* or prostitute acquires the dignified status of a housewife.[94]

But literary evidence apart, we have to interpret representation of the uncovered bosoms and navels of the female figures in the Sāñchī sculptures in the proper perspective and in the light of the artistic conventions and cultural outlook prevalent in that age. What we know as exhibitionism and nudity in modern society is certainly very far from what was in the minds of the great sculptural artists of Sāñchī. We have only to look at these figures squarely and see them whole to be sure that they are not at all conscious of their nudity. As Rodin Auguste observes, 'the human body is the mirror of the soul and from the soul comes its greatest beauty',[95] the first and the most lasting impression left on the mind is that the women sculptured on the Sāñchī stūpas feel natural in their elemental beauty of form and feeling. Majumdar is much nearer the mark when he says, 'the nudity either of men or of women was not viewed in the same light in ancient times as in the present',[96] and that 'the scantiness of female dress in ancient paintings and sculptures may, therefore, be as much due to convention of art as a reflection of the actual state of things'.[97]

Moreover, the refinery in making the cloth in the contemporary society had reached to a great perfection. Mahābhāshyakāra has referred to it again and again. Thinner and thinner clothes were made (II.1.68),[98] the popular use of which on the other hand also indicates the taste of the people. Excessive refined clothes are mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, where they are described as thin as slough, as delicate as

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the inner skin of the plantain, as light as to be flown by an expiration, and as transparent as can only be felt by a touch (*sparśānumeya*).[99] At another place, the charming parts of the body are said to be quite visible through the long *kañchuka* (*āparapadīna*) made of a very thin fibre (*nirmoka laghutara*).[100] The muslin of Dacca may be taken in the same tradition of fine cloth making. In the light of this evidence the śālabhañjikās of Sāñchī should be no more taken to be nude and without covering.

A sculptor is primarily concerned with the depiction of bodily charm and beauty of form. Anything that comes in the way of a successful expression of the artist's aesthetic perception must necessarily be eschewed completely. Cunningham aptly observes while writing in connection with the stūpa of Bharhut that 'the artist has purposely omitted the folds or traces of the upper garments for the sake of displaying the different necklaces, collars and girdles'.[101] Altekar is also of opinion that 'breasts are the most significant symbol of motherhood, and the artists of the South and Central India probably felt that they may be shown uncovered in the works of art, though they may be normally concealed in actual life under a bodice or a portion of the *sari*'.[102] Nor is it correct to say that the upper garments are invariably missing in the case of females in Indian sculpture of the time. A very beautiful terracotta figure of a standing lady found from Vaiśālī and assigned to the Maurya-Śuṅga age, wraps her whole body with her *sārī* quite in modern fashion. She is apparently *ekavastrā*.[103] Examples from Bharhut sculptures could be cited to show that in more than one panel the upper part of the female figure is draped in the scarf or the *uttarīya* and in as many styles as in the case of males.[104] Traces of *sārī* below the breasts of the Yakshī Chandā of Bharhut are quite evident.[105] Similarly, another partly broken yakshī figure on a corner pillar also has the traces of *sari* below her right breasts.[106]

On the whole, therefore, it is fair to suggest that the requirements of the artist's medium, artistic convention and a successful expression of the aesthetic perception have a great deal to do with the lack of drapery on the upper part of the female body represented in the panels on the Sāñchī stūpas. For the state of affairs in actual life in this respect we must go beyond sculptural representations to the wider field of literature.

The Upper Garments

Prāvāraka

As has already been said, the head of the ladies was covered either by a part of their *sārī* or a separate piece of cloth. However, this cloth for covering the head, which we may call the *dupaṭṭā* or *chādara*, was sometimes used quite plainly. Worn over the head its corners passed over the shoulders and fell down at the back[107] (Figs. 10.10, 11). Sometimes the corner of this *chādara* was decorated or embroidered with a single or double row of pearls (Figs. 10.12; 11.12).[108] The art of embroidery in India is as old as the *Ṛgveda* wherein this art was known as *peśah*. The clothes known as *drāpi* and *aṭka* were glittering due to golden work of embroidery on them.[109]

In this style of wearing, the *chādara* never comes in front of the body. It always hangs at the back. The whole of the Sāñchī sculpture depicts one and the same style of *dupaṭṭā* worn by the ladies. People in the rural areas of Uttar Pradesh still call it *pichhaurā*, i.e., a garment worn at the back (?).

This piece of cloth was known as *prāvāraka* or *prāvāra* in the sense of a *āchchhādanaka* or 'covering' and is mentioned in a drama of Bhāsa,[110] Kauṭilya's treatise[111] and in the *Mahābhārata*.[112] An inscription of Śuṅga period on the berm balustrade of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī refers to the gift of some Indradatta who was a seller of prāvārikas.[113] It shows the existence of a class of the *dupaṭṭā* seller, known as *prāvārika* in the time of the Śuṅgas. The class was also known in the *Jātakas* as *dussaka*.[114]

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Ushnīsha (turban)

On the basis of the Sāñchī sculptures, we may safely infer that sometimes turbans were also worn by women in ancient India. Only in rare cases have the women been represented as wearing turbans in the manner the males did. It is interesting to note that in the Vedic times, women as much as men wore the turban.[115] As far as Sāñchī sculptures are concerned, there are strikingly varied fashions of wearing the head-dress in the case of the ladies. A lady standing in a gracious pose of a śālabhañjikā motif and holding a branch of a tree wears a turban of a very simple style[116] (Fig. 11.8). Two lady worshippers including one *chaurī*-bearer have been represented on the Southern Gateway wearing turbans (Pl. LXI). Maid servants are also seen in a panel wearing turbans (Pl. LXVII).[117]

Such head-dresses were popular even centuries after the Sāñchī art. One example of a similar high head-dress is afforded by a *śālabhañjikā* yakshī in Mathurā art of the second century A.D.[118] These head-dresses may have some sort of affinity with the *kumba-kurīra* of the Sūtra literature, which was a woman's head-dress.[119]

A few examples of what may be described as a close-fitting helmet are also found in the Sāñchī sculptures. The bottom panel of an Eastern Gateway pillar (almost entirely destroyed) preserves on its upper corner the figure of an umbrella-bearer who has a helmet-like cap with a raised puff over it.[120] Motichandra describes her as 'a lady with helmet seen behind a king, probably a *yavan* or Greek lady as bodyguard'.[121]

The Lower Garments

Sārī

The dress of the females of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period mainly consisted of the *sārī*,[122] worn in *sakachchha* fashion[123] (Figs. 2.8; 8.5; 12.5; Pl. XB). We have stated earlier that the *dhotī* of common males normally remained above the knees. But the *sārī* of women went down to their ankles (Figs. 8.2, 3, 6, 9) and that is why it was called an *āprapadīna* in the *Mahābhāshya* (V.2.8).[124]

Examples of the *sārī* stopping just below the knees are also not wanting. A śālabhañjikā[125] and some women[126] wear *sārīs* which stop just below their knees (Figs. 8.1, 7; Pl. LXXII). Both the above-mentioned female figures display very close and tight-fitting *sārīs* worn almost in the manner in vogue today among Maharashtra women.

While the males represented on the Sāñchī panels wear the *dhotī* mostly in one and the same manner, the females display a variety of styles. Usually the *sārī* is clearly divided between the legs due to its *sakachchha* fashion, but the *sārī* of a queen worshipping the *Bodhi*-tree and the two śālabhañjikās covers both their legs.[127] In this style a corner of the *sārī* is tucked up on one side of the waist either on the left or the right (Figs. 8.4, 6, 7).

In a medallion a lady in standing posture displays a different style of wearing the *sārī* which makes a cross in front. She holds in her left hand the falling corner of her *sārī*[128] (Fig. 8.8).

Sāñchī art represents some women of rank wearing such a thin and transparent *sārī* that their feminine forms are quite visible and sometimes they are mistaken to be completely nude.[129] This helps us in deducing that Indian textile industry achieved a high degree of refinement in ancient times. We are well aware of the transparency of the Dacca muslin of a later period,[130] which was, no doubt, a tradition of skilled industry handed over to the later generations by their predecessors of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana periods.

Nīvī (waist-band)

As a rule the *sārī* of the females was held under an ornament called *mekhalā*, the girdle, but some specimens of *nīvī*, the cloth-band being used over a *sārī*, are also to be found in Sāñchī sculptures. Like male figures, females in Sāñchī sculp-

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tures have also tied their *nīvī-bandha* or belt-knot in different fashions keeping the knot in front, on either of the hips or on both sides of their hips (Figs. 8.4, 6, 7, 8, 9).

That the waist-band was commonly used by the ladies of the period is also attested by the contemporary sculptural evidence from Bharhut, where the piece has been variously used by males and females alike.[131]

THE DRESS OF SOLDIERS

We can have some idea of the dress of soldiers in the days of the Śuṅgas and Āndhras from at least two scenes of war depicted on the Sāñchī sculptures. We notice the participation of all the four wings of the army (*chaturaṅgiṇī senā*), i.e., the chariots, the elephants, the cavalry and the infantry, and also the classes of the combatants, i.e., the kings, the commanders (*senāpatis*) and the soldiers.

So far as the kings on chariots and other royal personages on elephants and horses are concerned, they have been shown in common civilian dresses described above. But most of the foot-soldiers have been depicted clad either in a *dhotī*[132] or in loose skirt,[133] sometimes low down upto the ankles and mostly reaching the knees. The skirt was tied with a cord-like waist-band in many layers (Fig. 5.8).

Motichandra opines that the soldiers used the *kañchuka* or tunic, *tahabanda*-like *dhotī*, *kamarabandha* or belt and the *ushṇīsha* or the helmet.[134] His view that foot-soldiers used the nicker (*ardhoruka*),[135] which was more suitable than the *dhotī*, is not borne out by the evidence of the Sāñchī sculptures. Sāñchī panels exhibit soldiers dressed either in a *dhotī* or in a skirt. But the skirt or *dhotī* appears to have been wrapped round in a tight-fitting manner so as to allow quick action and swift movement on the battle-field. Evidence of mail-coats is not very decisive, though cases where the helmet is worn are not entirely absent.[136]

Besides the above-noted two architraves of the Great Stūpa, we also have some other panels where soldiers have been depicted. A bowman and a swordsman have been shown standing on the bank of a river along with a third archer in the Mahākapi Jātaka scene represented on the Western Gateway.[137] The bowman and the swordsman wear the usual dress, i.e., the *dhotī*, waist-band of two wide layers and the turban. The archer who is shooting an arrow at the monkey appears to be dressed in a full-sleeved long *kañchuka*. The layers of the ropes making many crosses on his chest indicate the mode of fastening the quiver at the back. In a Śyāma Jātaka scene, the king of Vārāṇasī has been shown in the dress of a warrior wearing the skirt, belt-ropes, fastened quiver and the usual head-dress[138] (Fig. 5.7; Pl. XXXIII).

In a panel, we see a curly-headed man wearing a cap, an embroidered short-sleeved tunic, a kind of kilt and big boots. He holds in his right hand a dagger for defence and in his left a shield warding off the attack of a lion standing on his hind legs[139] (Pl. LXXVI). Although the panel is quite detached and has no connection with war, it gives a clear idea of the defender's dress, which may also be taken to be that of a soldier.

We have already described a peculiar head-dress worn by the two bowmen each riding an elephant represented on the Southern Gateway. The dress is constituted of a round head-covering attached with a broad band around the face covering the ears, cheeks and the chin. It should be taken as an armour (Fig. 7.9).

THE DRESS OF ASCETICS

Some Brāhmaṇa ascetics and hermits have been represented on the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas. A panel on an Eastern Gateway pillar depicts the scene of a hermitage which throws ample light on ascetic life in ancient times.[140] In this scene, a seated ascetic is shown feeding fire in a small vessel, another seated in the same way is fanning the fire and to the right two

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others are engaged in splitting a log of wood with large felling axes. All of them have been represented wearing typical dresses. They wear a short *tahmad*-like lower garment and cover their left shoulder and chest with another piece of cloth as an upper garment (Pl. LXII). From the vertical ribs on their dresses, they appear to be *valkalas*, the dress made of bark. The scene recalls the forests (*āśramas*) where the ascetics lived and carried on their austerities (*tapa*). The sacrificial fire is the chief indication of a *tapovana*.[141]

Another panel above it showing the miraculous victory of the Buddha over the nāga also depicts the Brāhmaṇa anchorites in the dress of bark.[142]

The third panel of the same pillar represents the miracle of the Buddha, 'walking on the waters'. In the scene Kāśyapa, a renowned Brāhmaṇa ascetic, has been shown with his disciples. All the holy persons are clad in *valkalas*, a dress which is quite different from that of an ordinary civilian (Pl. LVII).[143]

In the midst of a jungle scene, there are two huts indicating the hermitage. Long-haired (*jaṭādhārī*) and bearded ascetics are shown dressed in *valkalas* (Fig. 4.1; Pl. XII).[144] The Brāhmaṇa ascetics, who have begged all from the prince Viśvantara have flaring hair and cotton or silken clothes (Figs. 4.2, 3). This could be identified with *kāshāya*, mentioned as a monk's robe in Buddhist literature.[145]

One Brāhmaṇa of the above scene, receiving the chariot from prince Viśvantara, has been represented wearing the usual *dhotī* and *uttarīya*, possibly a silken robe. On his head, in place of a *jaṭā* he wears a turban, simply wrapped in such a manner that it looks like a high Turkish cap. Three clear layers of wraps are visible (Fig. 9.10; Pls. XI, LXV).

The *valkala* form of the ascetic dress has high antiquity. In the earliest literature known to us, the wife of a priest is described as putting on a garment of the *kuśā* grass.[146] Pāṇini mentions three terms for these clothes—*chīvara*, *chīra* and *chela*.[147] The word *chīvara* frequently occurs in Buddhist books for a monk's garb.[148] Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[149] and the hermits in Bhāsa's drama[150] have also been described as clad in the *valkala*. Since the life of an ascetic was spent entirely within natural surroundings, his dress was therefore also drawn from nature.

Sāñchī bas-reliefs represent another piece of cloth exclusively used by the ascetics, normally when sitting for contemplation in a typical pose known as *paryaṅka-bandha mudrā*. It is a long piece of cloth wrapped round the legs, probably in order to keep them bent for getting rest (Pl. XII). It was known in the time of Harsha as *yogapaṭṭa*.[151]

THE DRESS OF HUNTERS AND JUNGLE-DWELLERS

Hunting from time immemorial has been a favourite Indian pastime. The jungle, full of hazards and wild animals, has always been the scene of the hunter's activities. Naturally, therefore, a hunter's dress must be tight-fitting and smart so as to facilitate quick and easy movement. Hunters and jungle-dwellers represented on the Sāñchī sculptures wear a peculiar, though simple, dress. Even civilians, when they set out for hunting, put on a typical dress for the purpose, which was subsequently known as *mṛgayā veśam*.[152]

A hunter holding a bow is seen clad in short *dhotī*, a belt of many layers and a simple turban (Pl. XII). In a jungle scene a *bahaṅgīman* appears wearing a *dhotī*, an ordinary turban and a belt of three layers. A knife, a most useful weapon of a hunter, is stuck into his waist-band. He is carrying two haunches of antelope balanced on his shoulder at the end of the pole of the *bahaṅgī*. Apparently, he is returning after a hunt (Fig. 6.7).[153] Another man in the same scene is seen holding a bow and still another a spear on his shoulder. Their close-fitting dress too clearly marks them out as jungle-dwellers.

Not only men, even women partners of the hunters have also been depicted on the Sāñchī sculptures. In a scene a couple of hunters, both hand in hand and both wearing ornamental coronets, is seen dressed in *sakachchha dhotī* (Pl. XLVIII).[154]

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A yaksha in a roundel wears a very strange head-dress. It consists of a beaded band round his forehead. In the middle there is a beaded circle with a hole, flanked by two projections which apparently are feathers. These feathers on the face of it suggest that the wearer is a jungle-dweller or hunter (Fig. 9.8).[156]

The representation of the Śyāma Jātaka depicts the king of Vārāṇasī as a hunter. His dress is remarkable. Many folds of the waist-band, the skirt or the short *dhotī* worn in a roundish fashion, the quiver tied at the back with its straps crossed on the chest and a small dagger fixed in it are noteworthy[157] (Pl. XXXIII).

REFERENCES

1. Arrian, *Indica*, XVI (trans. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenese and Arrian*). Cf. *M. Bhāshya*, I.1.37, *upasaṁvyāna* including both upper (*uttarīya*) and lower (*antarīya*) garments.
2. *Ś.Br.*, XIII.4.1.15, *suvāsa*.
3. In the Vedic times embroidery was known as *peśaḥ*. See *A.Br.*, II.11.10 and *V.S.*, XIII vide J. Basu, *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 55 and 72, respectively.
4. *Mayhaka Jāt.* no. 390; *Lalitavistara*, XV.218 (*divya gandha parivāsita*, 'scented with divine fragrance'); *Saundarananda*, IV. 26 (*vāso-aṅganā-kāchit avāsaychcha*, 'lady with fragrant garment).
5. *Ashṭā.*, IV.3.143, 150, 158 and VI.3.42 mentions cotton (*kārpāsa*), linen (*kshauma*), woollen (*aurṇa*) and silken clothes (*kauśeya*) vide V.S. Agrawala, *India As Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 127-28; Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpa-sūtras*, p. 156; *Artha.* II also mentions bark (*valkala*), flex (*śaṇa*) and the skin of a deer called raṅku; *Mahāvagga* vide *SBE*, XIII, p. 137; *M. Bhāshya* IV.1.55, IV.3.42 and IV.3.159 vide P.D. Agnihotri, *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 197.
6. *Manu.* IV.216.
7. Basu, J., *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 55.
8. *Chullavagga*, V.6.14; *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII.2.10.3.
9. *Ibid.*, V.6.15.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Suchi Jāt.* (No. 387) mentions the qualities of the needle in its first two gāthās. See *Jātaka* (Hindi trans. by B.A. Kausalyayana), Vol. 3, p. 435.
12. *Mahābhāshya*, II.1.2, '*tikshṇayā sūchyā sīvyan*' (Puri, B.N., *India in the time of Patañjali*, p. 95).
13. *Manu*, IV. 214 (Agrawala, V.S., *India As Described by Manu*, p. 37).
14. *RV*, I.29.2; I.81.4; II.34.3; IV.37.4; V.54.11; VIII.7.25, etc.
15. *AV*, XV.2.5.
16. SG, Back, Middle architrave, Right half section; SG, Back, West end, Upper die; SG, Back, West end, Lower false capital.
17. SG, West end, Middle lintel; NG, Lower architrave, Left half section.
18. See Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pls. 35 and 36.
19. See Cunningham, A., *Mahābodhi*, pls. VIII and IX.
20. See Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, pl. 41.
21. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XV.
22. SG, Middle architrave, Left half section.
23. SG, Middle architrave, Right half section; SG, West end, Middle lintel.
24. NG, Lower architrave, Middle section.
25. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
26. Small Gateway, Lower false capitals.
27. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
28. SG, Lower architrave.
29. WG, North pillar, Inner face, bottom panel.
30. See Rowland Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India*, pl. I.
31. SG, Front, East end, lower lintel; SG, Back, Lower architrave. Cf. similar dress of the standard bearer sitting behind Indra on Airāvata at Bhājā (see Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 42).
32. Stūpa No. 2, Ground Rail pillar.
33. Pillar No. 88b.
34. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Bottom panel.
35. NG, West pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
36. NG, East end, Middle lintel.
37. WG, Middle false capitals; Stūpa 2, Rail-pillar No. 81b.
38. SG, West pillar, Inner face.
39. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
40. 'Clothes in Harshacharita', *NPP*, Vol. 57, p. 328.
41. WG, Back, Upper architrave.

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42. *Ashṭā*; V.4 6; '*Bṛhatyā āchchhādane*'.
43. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Sutta 88, *bāhitika sutta*.
44. *Raghu*., XVI.43, '*Ratna grathitottariyaṁ*'.
45. *Mṛcchakaṭikaṁ*, IV.30, '*Pushpa-prāvāraka*'.
46. *Rāmā*., VI.114.21; *Amara*, II.8.63.
47. McCrindle, *Ancient India As Described by Arrian*, p. 220.
48. *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha*, IV. 40.96 vide Dr. Ram Ji Upadhyaya, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Sāhitya ki Sāṁskṛtika Bhūmikā*, p. 856, f.n. 3.
49. NG, West Pillar, Inner face, Upper Panel.
50. Small Gateway, Lower false capitals.
51. Stupa No. 2, pillar No. 23b.
52. WG, South pillar, Outer face. 2nd pair; WG, Back, Upper architrave; WG, Back, Middle false capitals.
53. Ground Rail pillar No. 88b.
54. The term *dhotī* appears to have been derived from the term *dhauta vastra* (*dhauta* means washed). Of the total dress (*ushṇīsha*, *uttarīya* and *adhovastra*, i.e. *dhotī*), this piece of cloth was apparently washed daily and therefore it was a *dhauta vastra* (Dvivedi, Hazari Prasad, *Prāchīna Bhārata ke Kalātmaka Vinoda*, p. 34).
55. Of the eight on all the four gateways of the Great Stūpa, it was the only survived figure of Yaksha carved in round. But that too has since been fallen and broken. Its broken pieces are kept in the store room of the Archaeological Museum at Sāñchī.
56. NG, West pillar, Lower panel.
57. NG, Middle architrave, Back, Right half section.
58. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Bottom lintel.
59. NG, Front, Lower architrave; NG, Back, Lower architrave.
60. *Ashṭā*., IV.3.40.
61. NG, Back, Lower architrave, East end section.
62. EG, North pillar, Inner face.
63. SG, West end, False-capitals.
64. WG, Upper architrave, South end section.
65. SG, Back, Lower architrave.
66. WG, South pillar, Upper panel.
67. NG, East end, Lower lintel.
68. NG, Back, Lower architrave.
69. WG, South pillar, Outer face.
70. *Artha*. II.11.107.
71. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūshā*, p. 45.
72. Agrawala, V.S., 'Clothes in Harshacharita', *NPP*, Vol. 57, p. 320.
73. EG, Back, North end, Lower false capital.
74. Small Gateway, West end, Lower false capital.
75. NG, West pillar, Inner face.
76. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 63.
77. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; SG, Back, Lower architrave.
78. Stūpa No. 2, Ground Rail pillar No. 88b.
79. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūshā*, Introduction, p. 19.
80. WG, North end, Middle false capital.
81. See Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 30.
82. Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 27.
83. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūshā*, p. 85.
84. Puri, B.N., *India in the Time of Patañjali*, p. 96.
85. Fabri, Charles, *A History of Indian Dress*, p. 3. Cf. Fergusson, *Tree And Serpent Worship*, pp. 102-3, 'until the Muslim conquest Hindu women exposed their breasts in public without least shame'.
86. Agrawala, V.S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 89. Cf. *Mbh*., XV.16.13.
87. '*yaśchānishkāsinyaḥ*', *Arth*., II. 23 (Chapter on *Sūtrādhyakshaḥ*).
88. *Vidhura Jātaka*, No. 545.184, 188 & 306; *chullavagga*, XI.7.11.
89. Rock Edict VI, *CII*, Vol. 1, p. 74. Cf. *avarodha* in *Raghu*, I.32; IV.68; XVI.25, 58, 71; *Śak*. VI.12.
90. *Kāma*., V.6.
91. Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka*, I.29: '*nirdoshadrišyā hi bhavanti nāryo vajñe, vivāhe, vyasane vane cha*.' Cf. *Rāmā*., VI.114.28 wherein these occasions have been enumerated as six—troubles, anxieties, wars, *svayaṁvara*, *yajña* and marriage.
92. *Rāmā*., VI.111.62.
93. *Śāk*., V.13.
94. *Mṛcchakaṭikaṁ*, IV.24.
95. Rodin Auguste, *On Art and Artists*, p. 129.
96. Cf. "Everywhere indeed, before the Mohamedan conquest, nudity in India conveyed no sense of indecency", Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 93.
97. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 573.
98. Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 198.
99. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 79.
100. *Ibid*., p. 153, f.n. 2.
101. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 33.
102. Altekar, A.S., *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 344f.
103. See *Mārg*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (December, 1966), p. 8, Fig. 3.
104. Indian Museum, Bharhut Gallery, Exhibit Nos. 270 and 271.
105. See Cunningham, *op. cit*., pl. XXII.3.
106. Indian Museum, Bharhut Gallery, Exhibit No. 307.
107. See Śālabhañjikās on NG and *Padmavāsinī* Lakshmī on SG, East end, Lower die.
108. NG, Lower architrave, princess holding *chaurī*; SG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel, nymphs and dancers.
109. *R.V*., I.122.2; V.55.6; I. 166.10; I.25.13.
110. *Svapnavāsavadattam*, V.6-7.
111. *Arth*., II.11.107. Cf. *prāvaraṇa* of the *Baudh D. Sūtra*, I. 6.13.14.
112. *Mbh*., *Vana*., 3.51; *Sabhā*., 47.3 (Cr. ed.).
113. '*Idadatasa pavarikasa dānam*' i.e. the gift of Indradatta, a

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cloak seller. See Majumdar, N.G., *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, No. 472, p. 347.

114. *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545; *gāthā* 59.
115. *Kaṭha. Saṁ.*, XIII.10; *Ait. Bra.*, VI.1, *Śat. Br.*, III.3.2.3; IV. 5.2.7; XIV.2.1.8.
116. Stūpa No. 2, Ground Rail pillar No. 1a.
117. NG, West pillar, Front, Upper panel.
118. See Mukerjee, Radha Kamal, *A History of Indian Civilization*, pl. 2.
119. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpa-sūtras*, pp. 157-58.
120. EG, North Pillar, Front face.
121. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratiya Veśabhūshā*. Cf. *Strabo*, III, p. 106, who points out that 'Chandragupta Maurya kept himself in the palace under the protection of female guards who might have been imported from outside', vide Chakraborty, H., *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 258.
122. *Saṭṭa*, *Sāṭṭaka*, Jāt. No. 431 (III.296) *sāṭī*; *Mahābhāshya* I. 1.64, p. 396 (*śuklā sāṭī*—vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 199); *Rāmā.*, II. 32.32, 37.
123. NG, West pillar, Outer face; NG, Back, East end, Lower die; NG, West pillar, Inner face, Second panel; EG, Back, North end; and for a SG Bracket *śālabhañjikā* see Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 22.
124. Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 199.
125. NG, West end, Śālabhañjikā on the Lower architrave.
126. SG, West pillar, Inner face.
127. NG, West pillar, Inner face, 3rd panel; NG, West end, Śālabhañjikās on the Middle and Lower architraves.
128. Stūpa No. 2, Ground Rail pillar No. 21b, Inner side.
129. For bracket śālabhañjikā of the Eastern Gateway, see Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 15.
130. Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. 1, p. 5.
131. See Indian Museum, Calcutta, Bharhut Gallery, Exhibit Nos. 230 and 269 and yakshī Sudarśanā.
132. WG, Back, Middle architrave.
133. SG, Back, Lower architrave.
134. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratiya Veśabhūshā*, Intro., p. 11.
135. Ibid.
136. WG, South pillar, Top panel.
137. For details see chapter 'Army, Arms and Armour'.
138. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Top panel.
139. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar No. 88b.
140. EG, South pillar, Inner face, 3rd panel.
141. *Svapnavasanadattam*, I.12, *nihsaṁdigdhamidaṁ tapovanamayaṁ dhūmohi vahvāśrayaḥ*—'surely it is the penance wood as the smoke (of the sacrificial fire) is rising simultaneously from various places'.
142. EG, South pillar, Inner face, 2nd panel.
143. EG, South pillar, Front face, 3rd panel.
144. NG, Back, Lower architrave.
145. *Buddhacharita*, VI.60 (Ed. & Tr. by E.B. Cowell); *Milinda Praśna*, transl. by Bhikshu Jagdish Kasyapa, p. 23.
146. Das, A.C., *Rigvedic Culture*, p. 211.
147. *Ashṭā.*, III.1.20, VI.2.127 and III.4.33, respectively.
148. *Chullavagga*, V.6.14; *Suruchi Jātaka*, no. 489; *Samudda Jātaka*, no. 296; *Chullasuka Jātaka*, no. 431.
149. *Rāmā.*, II.99.26.
150. *Svapnavāsavadattam*, I.3.
151. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 58.
152. *Śāk.*, vide Upadhyaya, B.S., *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 198; *Kālidāsa ka Bhārata*, p. 322.
153. NG, Back, Lower architrave, Middle section.
154. NG, Front, East end, Lower lintel.
155. EG, North end, Middle lintel.
156. Stūpa No. 2, Ground Rail pillar No. 9a.
157. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Top panel.

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CHAPTER III

COIFFURES AND COSMETICS

ONE of the basic concepts of the ancient Indian cultural heritage is that beauty is a reflection of the divine and, therefore, sacred. Art, therefore, came to be traditionally associated with religion and the artist looked upon his work as an act of worship dedicated to the service of the deity. The material required in the worship of a deity or a saint included mainly articles of toilet.[1] Hence personal decoration appears to have always been a sort of sacrament.[2]

Moreover, as the most beautiful creature of nature, man has always tried to look more and more beautiful by decorating and adorning himself. Bathing or cleaning the body with water, using oily substances and pastes before bathing, drying the body by smearing fragrant powders, applying *tilaka* on the forehead and collyrium in the eyes, dressing the hair, adorning the whole body with ornaments and costumes, and thus making the body beautiful has always been a favourite preoccupation with him.

As today, people in ancient India also were very fond of improving their personal appearance. They used different types of beauty-aids and cosmetics. This decoration and adornment of the body, though practised by both men and women, was more popular among the latter and this is apply borne out by the sculptural art of the Sāñchī stūpas.

Prasādhana

The art of personal decoration was known as *prasādhana*,[3] *subhagaṁ-karaṇa*,[4] *bhūshaṇa*[5] and *maṇḍana*.[6] Cleansing the body, i.e. bathing, was also included in it, which was known as *parikarma* or *aṅga-saṁskāra*.[7] Specialists were employed by the rich and the royal for the purpose. Manu mentions a special class of persons called *sairindhra* who had special skill in the art of toileting.[8] Agrawala rightly says that this may be the reason why Draupadī named herself Sairindhrī in the *harem* of Virāṭa.[9] Kālidāsa mentions them as a *prasādhaka*[10] and *prasādhikā*.[11] The existence of such a class in society is itself evidence of the popularity of personal decoration. And this popular fondness for body beautification is quite evident in the reliefs on the Sāñchī stūpas.

Before we discuss the different beauty-aids represented in the bas-reliefs at Sāñchī, we should note that the practice of personal adornment has a very long tradition in India. Its evidence is immensely available in archaeological findings and literary descriptions. We may trace it back even to the pre-historic times. Harappā culture has yielded many examples of beauty-aids and cosmetics like kohl, hair-pins, combs, bangles, mirrors and gold ornaments.[12] The great importance given to bathing is also proved by the excavation of the Great Bath and other public bath-rooms. Literary evidence is to be gathered from the Vedas and other Vedic literature, from the works of Pāṇini, Kauṭilya, Patañjali and Manu, and from early Buddhist literature, particularly the *Jātaka* stories, the epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*—and classical Saṁskrit literature, specially that of Kālidāsa.

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Snāna

Although we do not find any direct representation of bathing (*snāna*) in the bas-reliefs of the Sāñchī stūpas, evidence thereof is, no doubt, available in the scenes depicting people, both men and women, enjoying water-sports (*jala-krīḍā*) in lotus ponds. Such sportive scenes are found on the panels of all the three surviving stūpas at Sāñchī.[13] With the absence of any clear representation of bathing as it is, we also do not find any evidence of applying different substances and pastes before (*pralepa*) and after the bath (*anulepa*).[14] But from literature we know that bathing was deemed to be a sacred practice in ancient times. It included washing (*mārshṭi*), rubbing (*mājanā*) and cleansing (*mṛjā*).[15] Actually speaking, bathing was the starting point of the art of personal decoration.

Tilaka

The *tilaka* mark was made on the forehead with a paste either of sandal, *kuṅkuma* or collyrium. The figures of śālabhañjikās have a round mark (*sohāga bindī*) on their forehead which is partly hidden under their hair (Figs. 1.1, 2; 2.1, 3; 10.11; 11.1; Pls. LXXI, LXXV, LXXIX). The inner medallion of a ground rail-pillar (no. 21b) of Stūpa No. 2 depicts a lady in standing posture. She has also applied a *tilaka* mark (Fig. 11.5). The practice of applying a round mark with coloured powder or paste on the middle of the forehead is still found among Indian women, particularly married ones. It is supposed to be an auspicious mark of their happy conjugal life. No male figure in the whole of Sāñchī sculpture is to be seen with the *tilaka* mark on his forehead, though according to literary evidence both men and women applied it.

Keśaveśa

The art of hair-dressing in ancient India was so highly developed that a parallel would be hard to find even in the most modern societies of today. In olden days, the art was known as *keśaveśa*.[16] Apart from the elaborate hair-styles of many stone statues, bronzes and terracotta figurines, the discovery of combs, hair-pins and the handled mirrors from the Harappan sites makes it clear that the art of hair-dressing has been an age-old practice in India. Hair was the crowning glory of Vedic women who wore it in plaits. *Śatapatha Br.* (VI. 5.1.10) says, 'the enchanting beauty of a woman lies in her when she is fair-knotted (*sukapardā*), well-braided (*sukurīrā*) and fair-locked (*svaupaśā*).[17] The number of plaits was sometimes more than one. The *Ṛgveda* describes a maiden having four plaits.[18] *Trijaṭa*,[19] an attendant to Sītā in *Aśokavāṭikā*, appears to have gained her name by wearing a triple coiffure.[20] Various hair-styles such as *kabarī*, *dhammilla*, *veṇī*, etc., are referred to in the *Amarakośa*.[21] What has been described in literature is found to be true to the representation in Sāñchī sculptures.

FEMALE HAIRDOS[22]

Kabarī

Sāñchī reliefs represent the most striking fashions in female hairdos of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana times and display a number of stylistic coiffures which reveal the aesthetic taste of the womenfolk of the age. The Śālabhañjikās on either side below and another standing on the lower architrave towards the east end on the Northern Gateway have been shown dressed in the most ornamental and richly bejewelled coiffures (Figs. 12.1, 2, 4). They wear long double braids (*veṇīs*)[23] and above them are the chains of gold, strings of pearls and garlands of flowers, coming from their forehead and hanging at their back (Pl. LVIII). This form of hair-dressing may be identified with *kabarī*,[24] which, according to Agrawala, was a special style of female coiffure.[25] The word *kabarī*, he says, may have originated

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from the variegated appearance of the braid of hair interwoven with a garland of flowers.[26] *Kāśikā* explains it to be styled at the back.[27]

Prasiddhī

Long braided tassels decorated with flowers were called *prasiddhī*[28] which were left falling at the back. All the śālabhañjikās just described above and a detached bracket śālabhañjikā of the Southern Gateway[29] have been carved out wearing double tassels (Figs. 12.2, 4). The śālabhañjikā standing on the lower architrave of the Northern Gateway has tied her hair with a double string made of pearls around her forehead (Fig. 12.4). Similar fashion in hair-dressing is shown by two out of the four ladies worshipping the *Bodhi*-tree in a panel.[30]

Normally, double tassels (*veṇīs*) were worn by the ladies of olden days. This is quite clear from the reliefs on the Sāñchī stūpas. Wearing two tassels appears to have been a symbol of happy conjugal life. On the other hand, the lady when in distress or separated from her beloved, wore a single tassel. It is quite clear from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, wherein Sītā in Aśokavāṭikā is described as having a single tassel (*eka veṇī dharā*).[31]

Dhammilla or Keśa Chūḍā

Another style of coiffure prevalent in Śuṅga-Sātavāhana times is exhibited by the goddess Gaja-Lakshmī on the upper architrave of the Southern Gateway. The mass of hair has been beautifully arranged in a conical shape projecting towards the right. A chain of round beads, maybe of pearls, passes between the hair around the head (Fig. 11.1; Pl. XXI). The style may be identified with *dhammilla*[32] or *keśa-chūḍā*.[33]

Śuklāṁśuka aṭṭālaka

From the representations in Sāñchī sculpture, particularly on the ground rail-pillars of Stūpa No. 2, very high and conical hairdos appear to have been worn by the women in ancient India. The style consists of a straight conical mass of hair just like the most modern coiffures. As today, it might have been the fashion to use a wig or an additional bulk of hair. Sometimes a ring of either a silken cloth or garland was kept round the hair (Fig. 11.4). A butterfly-shaped arrangement of presumably silken cloth was sometimes attached to the ring in front (Fig. 9.11; Pl. LXXVIII). The securing of the locks of hair was also done by a chain of gold (*svarṇa-paṭṭikā*)[34] and garlands arranged together (Fig. 9.12). Gold forehead-bands, which are thin flat strips to be worn round the forehead in place of the ribbon, have been found from the Indus Valley. It is also evident from the figure of the priest.[35] A long lace of cloth studded with the gems (*ratna-paṭṭikā*) was sometimes wrapped round the head in the manner of a turban (Figs. 11.2, 6). Ladies also wrapped a scarf round their head making a cross in front (Fig. 11.11). The core of the scarf was sometimes decorated with a line of lockets (Figs. 11.2, 3, 5, 6, 11). This style of hair-dressing has been called *śuklāṁśukāṭṭālaka*[36] by Aśvaghosha.

Śekharaka

The art of hair-dressing had touched a great stylization in the time of the Sāñchī gateways, which represent a number of peculiar hairdos. A very elegant and stylistic coiffure is seen on the figure of a detached bracket śālabhañjikā of the Eastern Gateway (Fig. 10.8; Pl. XA). She combs her hair from left to right in a most attractive manner. A peacock-plume-like projection of the cloth tied with a twisted thread adds to the beauty of its wearer. The projected cloth has folds or creases which apparently indicate that it is highly starched.[37] At the back, the ringlets are arranged in a way which reminds one of the bob-cut hair style of today (Fig. 12.5; Pl. XB). We are not sure if the style has any relevance to Patañjali's '*tanu-*

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keśayaḥ striyaḥ' meaning, according to Puri, 'ladies with delicate hair' or 'keeping bob-wig'.[38]

This fan-shaped projection in hairdos, which is also found on the Harappā terracottas,[39] is also noticed on the heads of some soldiers.[40] The lock of hair, in this style, was tied with a silken lace at the head and the top projection was made of different shapes, sometimes conical like fly-whisk (Figs. 9.5, 6; 10.7, 9) and sometimes round like a flower (Fig. 11.7). Another representation of a coiffure with a similar top-knot and a whisk projection may be cited from the Small Gateway or the Only Gateway of Stūpa No. 3.[41]

This extremely charming and glorious projection of coiffure may be identified with an ancient Indian head-dress called *śekharaka*. These *śekharakas* were made of the leaves of *jaṭāmānsī* or multi-coloured silken pieces.[42] These were also exported to distant countries even upto Rome.[43] The *Mahāvastu*, II, a Buddhist text, calls them *gandha-mukuṭa*—scented crowns.[44] These were sold by the garland-makers (*mālākāras*).[45] *Śekharāpīṭha Yojanā*, according to the *Kāmasūtra*, was one of the sixty-four fine arts.[46]

The use of *śekharaka* as a head-dress (*śirobhūshā*) continued till the seventh century A.D. Such a hair-dressing is to be seen on some terracottas from Ahichchhatrā belonging to the Gupta age.[47] The *chhatra*-like *śekharaka* made of peacock feathers and flowers with humming black bees was included by Bāna among the costumes of kings.[48] The continuity of the use of *śekharaka* even upto a later period is confirmed as it finds mention in Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī*.[49]

The art of hair-dressing was so developed that plainly arranged hair without any beauty-aids like garlands, flowers, fillets and ornaments appeared no less stylistic and attractive. A very curious and charming style of hair-dressing is revealed by the representation of a lady worshipper on a ground rail-pillar (no. 66b) of Stūpa No. 2. She has combed her hair and wrapped them in a style to form an oval projection at the top, with a very thick tassel-knot at the back (Fig. 10.2). Another lady has combed her hair with the parting line (*sīmanta*) in the middle and attached a large round ring of hair to the back of her head (Fig. 10.3). Such fashions of hairdos have been very popular among modern womenfolk.

Sīmanta[50] (parting line)

Simply combing the hair to fall with a parting line was another style of keeping hair by the ladies of ancient India. From a close examination of the Sāñchī bas-reliefs, it is evident that no hard-and-fast rule for parting hair, from the middle or from a side, was followed by the ladies of that age. Normally, the parting line was kept in the middle but examples of keeping it on the left or right are not wanting. Queens flanking a king represented on a pillar of the Southern Gateway have combed their hair in an ordinary manner and formed the tassels (Fig. 10.5). A sitting female attendant in the same panel and the Gaja-Lakshmī on a rail-pillar of Stūpa No. 2 wear a very dense coiffure around their face (Fig. 10.4). All of them have kept the parting line in the middle. A lady sitting on a pericarp and holding lotus buds in a *kalpalatā* design being spouted out by an elephant on a ground rail pillar (no. 88a) of Stūpa No. 2 combs her hair with the parting line in the middle and with the hair making a curl over the shoulders (Fig. 10.1).

Prāgulphā

An example showing the *sīmanta* line at the right is found in a medallion of Stūpa No. 2 (Fig. 10.6; Pl. XXVII). Keeping her loose hair hanging in front, the lady may be identified with *prāgulphā* of the *Mahābhāshya* (IV.1.60).[51] The fashion of keeping the parting line at the left is exemplified by the most striking and charming bracket śālabhañjikā at the Eastern Gateway and another small śālabhañjikā at the Northern Gateway (Figs. 10.8, 11). The latter has covered her head with

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a *prāvāraka*, yet her *sīmanta* is quite clear.

MALE HAIRDOS

As regards the coiffures of males, it may be pointed out that Indians in Sāñchī bas-reliefs have mostly been depicted wearing turbans. The rare examples of bare-headed males are to be met with in the case either of ascetics and genii or of foreigners. Therefore male hairdos of the common people cannot be described precisely. However, men generally kept long hair tied in a top-knot around which the folds of the turban were arranged. It is substantiated by Megasthenese who says: "If one is guilty of a very heinous offence, the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous."[52]

Jaṭā

On the evidence of hair-dressing, Patañjali classifies ascetics into three categories—*Jaṭī*, having long matted hair; *Śikhī*, keeping a tuft or lock of hair on the crown of the head; and *Muṇḍī*, shaven-headed persons.[53] Sāñchī sculptures represent only *Jaṭī* ascetics. The long matted hair, *jaṭās*, were wrapped layer upon layer over the head, thus making a long and conical protruberance (Figs. 9.2, 3; Pls. XII, LVII, LXII).

One of the most attractive and stylistic *jaṭā* coiffures is found on the person of the Māra, a Buddhist god like Kāma of the Hindu pantheon.[54] The coiffure is made of three layers of matted hair, one upon the other, not in a straight line but every layer being kept slightly shifted towards the left and finally the fourth encircles a cylindrical mass, apparently, of hair (Fig. 9.4).[55] Sometimes the Brāhmana or the novices left their long hair carelessly loose (Fig. 9.1; Pls. XII, LXII, LVII).

A few persons associated with the *kalpalatā*, sometimes shown spouting from the stem of the same, have been executed in Sāñchī art wearing curly hair. Marshall described these drarf-like figures as *kīchakas* or *kumbhāṇḍas*.[56] Some of these *kumbhāṇḍas* have secured their hair with a forehead-band, apparently a cotton or silken ribbon. Its knot was kept at the back with both its ends flaring in the air, which is evident from its representation in the Sāñchī bas-reliefs (Fig. 9.9).[57] Persons wearing curly hair, some with fillets and the man fighting with a crocodile also wear the same style of hair (Pls. LX, LXXIV).

Some animal riders[58] and soldiers[59] represent a peculiar form of hairdo. In this fashion, the hair was tied with a twisted thread or a thin rope at the crown of the head, allowing the long lock of hair to flare in the manner of the modern pony-tail or a fly-whisk (Fig. 9.6).

Smaśru

Except for the ascetics, foreigners and the Nāga Muchalinda (Pl. XXXIII), none has been represented in the Sāñchī sculptures as wearing mustachios and beards (*smaśru*). Indirectly, it proves the presence of the barber (*nāpita*), who has been frequently mentioned in ancient Indian literature.[60] Shaving has been referred to by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya*.[61]

Ascetics, however, kept a pair of mustachios and beards. It is quite evident from the representation of them on the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas, particularly on the Northern and Eastern Gateways. The lower architrave of the former depicts on both its sides the story of the Viśvantara Jātaka, wherein prince Viśvantara has been represented many a time as an ascetic wearing *jaṭā* and *smaśru*[62] (Fig. 9.2). The father ascetic of Ekaśṛnga, represented on the same gateway, also has both beard and mustachios (Fig. 9.3).[63] The Eastern Gateway represents ascetics with matted hair, beards and mustachios on more than one panel; once in the scene showing the miracle of the Buddha walking on the waters,[64] again in the scene representing the ascetic life in a *tapovana* (Pl. LXII) and in the scene of the Buddha's victory over the serpent.[65]

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Evidence of *smaśru* being kept by the Mallas may be cited from the Northern Gateway. In the scene labelled by Marshall as 'the dedication of stūpa by the Mallas', some of the men in adoration, standing, perambulating or playing on some musical instrument, are shown wearing beards and mustachios.[66]

Flowers and Garlands

A flower is the most attractive gift of nature to man. For its beauty, colour and fragrance, it is loved by all. Decorative flower arrangements played a prominent role in Indian life from time immemorial. A close scrutiny of ancient Indian sculptures, frescoes and literature reveals evidence of extensive prevalence of this art-form. Originally, flowers were much in use for personal decoration. No festivity could be held without them.

Though not in abundance, the use of flowers in personal decoration can be witnessed in the sculptures of the Sāñchī stūpas. Garlands were not only used round the neck but also as a decoration in head-dresses, specially of the ladies.[67] The stylistic hair-dressing of the śālabhañjikās on the Northern Gateway, described above, includes garlands interwoven in the braids or hanging over them at the back (Figs. 12.1, 2). This reminds us of the fact that ladies adorned and scented their hair with flowers,[68] kept *kunda* flowers in their locks of hair, *kurbaka* in their tresses and *kadamba* on their parting line.[69] Girls of contemporary society were very fond of wearing garlands of lotus flowers.[70] According to a Buddhist text, a novice (*śramaṇa*) while taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha took ten vows (*sikkhāpadaṁ*), including one of refraining from the use of garlands, perfumes and pomades.[71] This shows that the use of flowers in personal decoration was a common feature in ancient times. None would deny that flowers were used for decking the whole body before the advent of metallic ornaments. The evidence provided by Kālidāsa would suffice to prove this. He describes flowers as being used as garlands,[72] girdles,[73] ear-pendants[74] and head-decorations.[75] We find many representations in Sāñchī bas-reliefs where the use of flowers as an ear-ornament is apparent[76] (Figs. 14.1-4, 6, 9-11).

Besides it, the use of flowers and garlands is also found in decorating the divine precincts and as offerings to deities. It has been already said in the very beginning of this chapter.[77] All the divine symbols like *Bodhi*-trees,[78] *Bodhi*-temples,[79] *Dharma-chakras*[80] and *stūpas*[81] represented in Sāñchī art have been decked with flowers and garlands. Human worshippers and flying garland-bearers (*suparṇas*) have been repeatedly represented as offering flowers and garlands to the deity or symbol whom they have come to worship.[82]

Mālākāras (garland-makers)

Like today, the stalls for sale of flowers and garlands were found in ancient India as early as in the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[83] Sale of garlands is also mentioned by Patañjali.[84] The widespread use and sale of flowers justifies the presence of *mālākāras*, a special class in society. They were included among the artisans (*śilpāyatana*).[85] The continuity of this class is to be noticed in the present caste *mālī*, the ladies (who are specially engaged in the profession) of which are known as *mālinis*.[86]

Darpaṇa (mirror)

Hair-dressing and facial toileting cannot be done without the help of the mirror. The make-up and personal adornment with all sorts of beauty-aids is judged by looking into the mirror. Hence it has always been an important item of toilet. Kālidāsa describes Pārvatī looking into the mirror after her personal decoration before her marriage.[87] In ancient times when glass was either unknown or not employed

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for making mirrors, highly polished metal plates of various designs were used to serve as mirrors. Such round metallic mirrors with a handle, sometimes resembling a female bust, have been unearthed from prehistoric cultures of Kullī[88] and Harappā.[89] Several bone and ivory mirror handles mostly carved in the shape of human figures have been discovered from Ahichchhatrā,[90] Mathurā,[91] Taxila[92] and Ter.[93] The use of mirror is an age-old practice. It has been mentioned in Vedic,[94] Buddhist[95] and classical Saṁskrit literature.[96] Pāṇini's knowledge of it is evident from a *sūtra* (V.2.6) on the basis of which he derives the noun *ādarśa* (mirror) from the verb *darśan* to look.[97] Subsequently, it was called *ādarsa*[98] and *darpaṇa*[99] both.

The Sāñchī panels also represent this item of toilet. Of a royal couple seated on a couch in a panel, the man raises a cup to his lips, apparently for drinking some liquor or juice and the lady holds in one of her hands a round mirror[100] (Pl. LV). Apparently, she is busy in her make-up, as we see a lady on Mathurā rail-pillars.[101] Similar representation of a handled mirror is to be found on a pillar of the Northern Gateway.[102] Another clear depiction of a round-handled mirror is noticed in the hand of a she-centaur ridden by a man in a medallion on a railing pillar (no. 81b) of Stūpa No. 2 (Figs. 30.3; 42.2).

Whether the specimens of Sāñchī mirrors were made of glass or a metal cannot be ascertained with certainty. But due to similarity of their shape and design with the bronze mirrors of Harappā described above, these appear to be metallic ones.

Prasādhana-peṭikā

Foucher points out to a unique evidence of a toilet-case (*prasādhana-peṭikā*) in Sāñchī sculpture. In a detached panel of the Southern Gateway (now in the National Museum), a couple is depicted in sitting pose. On the left of the woman a circular and flat box is hung on a peg (*nāgadanta*) which, according to Foucher, contains some toilette preparations[103] (Fig. 30.5; Pl. XLIX). But the possibility of some edible item in it cannot necessarily be ruled out. However, ladies holding such round toilet-cases have also been represented in Mathurā sculpture.[104] Agrawala calls these ladies as *prasādhikā* and the toilet-case as *śṛṅgāra-peṭikā*.[105] The identification of the toilet-case on Mathurā pillars is quite evident, because the lady herself is looking into a mirror held in her left hand and arranging her coiffure with her right hand, while her maid-attendant is holding the toilet-case before her.

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2. Cf. *Kumāra.*, V.36, wherein it is said that beauty (*rūpam*) and sin (*pāpam*) never go together.
3. *Manu.*, IV.152; X.32; *Kumāra.*, VII.13.30; *Mālavikāgni.*, III.5; *Śāk.*, IV.
4. *Ashṭā.*, III.2.56 vide Agrawala, V.S., *India As known to Pāṇini*, p. 131.
5. *Ashṭā.*, I.4.64; VI.1.133, ibid., p. 133.
6. *Megha.*, II.11; *Kumāra.*, VII; *Śāk.*, IV; *Amara.*, II.6.102.
7. *Amara.*, II.6.121.
8. *Manu.*, X.32, *prasādhanopa-chārajña*. Cf. *Rāmā.*, VI.121.3, *alaṅkāravidaḥ*.
9. Agrawala, V.S., *India As Described by Manu*, p. 28.
10. *Raghu.*, XVII.22.
11. *Raghu.*, VII.7; *Kumāra.*, VII.20.
12. Piggott, Stuart, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 188-90; Wheeler, M. (Sir), *The Indus Civilization*, p. 48, pls. XXIB & XXII; Sengupta, Padmini, *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, p. 182; Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 31, pl. VIII.
13. SG, Front, West end, Middle

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lintel; NG, East pillar; Stūpa No. 2, Ground rail-pillar (No. 27a); Stūpa No. 3, Rear View, West end, Lower lintels.

14. *Ashṭā.*, IV.4.48. Cf. *Chullavagga*, I.3.21, *gandha vilepana*; *Lalitavistara*, VII, *gandha anulepana*.
15. *Amara.*, II.6.121.
16. *Ashṭā.*, IV.1.42.
17. Basu, Jogiraj, *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 38. Cf. *Vaj. Saṁ.*, XI.56 vide Rai Govind Chandra, *Vedic Yuga Ke Bhāratīya Ābhūshaṇa*, p. 44.
18. *Ṛgveda*, X.114.3, '*chatushkapardā yuvatiḥ supeśā*'.
19. *Rāmā.*, V.27.4.
20. Still in northern India the bride is adorned, at the time of her marriage, with seven braids which are called '*paṭiyā*' (plaits).
21. *Amara.*, II.6.
22. Some of the female hairdos have been dealt with in the author's paper on 'Female Hairdos in Sāñchī Sculpture', *JIH*, Vol. LII, Pt. I, pp. 33-37, pls. I & II.
23. Cf. '*śiroruhaiḥ śroṇi-taṭāvalambibhiḥ*', *Ṛtu.*, II.18.
24. *Ashṭā.*, IV.1.42.
25. *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 132.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 206.
28. *Kumāra.*, V.9; VII.16.
29. See Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 22.
30. NG, East pillar, inner face.
31. *Rāmā.*, V.20.8; 57.29; 65.14.
32. *Amara.*, II.6.97.
33. Puri, B.N., *India in the Time of Patañjali*, p. 98.
34. Cf. *sovaṇṇopaṭṭo* of *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXIII.38 vide Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Indian Architectural Terms', *JAOS*, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 250-75.
35. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 30, fig. 125.
36. *Saundarananda*, VII.7.
37. Cf. the lady on a pillar at Mathurā wearing similar fashion of headgear. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, fig. 137b on pl. XL.
38. Puri, B.N., *India in the Time of Patañjali*, p. 98.
39. This fan-shaped head-dress of the Harappan terracotta figurines, according to Agrawala, may be identified with *Opasa* mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (*Indian Art*, Vol. I, p. 24, pls. V.16 and 17) which, according to the *Vedic Index* (I, p. 124), probably means a plait as used in dressing the hair, specially of women, but apparently in earlier times of men also.
40. EG, Front, North pillar, Lower panels.
41. Stūpa No. 3, West pillar, Back, Lower panel.
42. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 127.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. Shukla, D.N., *Bhāratīya Vāstu-śāstra*, p. 133.
47. See *Ancient India*, No. 4, figs. 223, 227, 242, 243.
48. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita —Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 158; *māyūrātapatrāyamāṇa śekharashaṭapaṭalaiḥ*.
49. Second ed., pp. 113-41 vide Dr. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 220.
50. *Mahābhāshya*, VI.1,94 vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 206. Ladies with a *sīmanta* were called *sīmantinī* (*ibid.*).
51. *M. Bhāshya* (IV.1.60) calls the lady *prāgulphā* who keeps her locks of hair falling in front (Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 206).
52. McCrindle, *Megasthenese*, pp. 73-74, vide Sengupta, Padmini, *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, p. 183.
53. Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 205.
54. See WG, Back, Lower architrave.
55. Cf. Śālabhañjikā on a pillar of Mathurā. See Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 74a.
56. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 51; *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XI.
57. SG, Front, Lower architrave; Small Gateway, Front, Upper architrave.
58. WG, Back, North end, Middle false capital.
59. NG, East pillar.
60. *R.V.*, X.142.4, '*vapateva smaśru vapasi pra bhūma*'; *A.V.*, VIII.2.17, '*vaptā vapasi keśaśmaśru*'; *Ashṭā.*, II.2.9 and VI.2.151, *snāpaka*; *Artha.*, I.27, *kalpaka*.
61. I.3.1 vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 205.
62. See Marshall's *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pls. XXIII and XXIX.
63. NG, West end, Lower lintel.
64. EG, South pillar, 3rd panel.
65. EG, South pillar, Inner face.
66. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Top panel. See Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 10.
67. Cf. *Kumāra.*, VII.14,57. Also see *Rāmā.*, II.93.13; *Mānaso.*, III.7.1047.
68. *Ṛtu.*, II.22, '*pushpāvataṁsa surabhīkṛta keśapāśaḥ*'.
69. *Megha.*, II.2.
70. *Mahābhāshya*, I.1.72, '*utpalamāla bhāriṇī kanyā*' vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 204.
71. *Khuddakapāṭha*, II.2.7, 8.
72. *Ṛtu.*, II.18, 25.
73. *Kumāra.*, III.55, '*kesaradāma kāñchī*', girdle made of kesara flowers.
74. *Ṛtu.*, VI.6, *karṇeshu yogyaṁ navakarṇikāra*; *Megh.* II.28, *karṇotpala*; *Megha.*, II.2, *śirīsha*. Cf. *Chullavagga*, I.3.21, '*mālagandha-vilepanam*'.
75. *Megha.*, II.2.
76. See lion riders on WG; Middle architrave of NG; *kumbhāṇḍas* of the capitals of the Small Gateway; and a lady on the ground rail-pillar (no. 71a) of Stūpa No. 2.
77. *Supra*, p. 26, f.n. 1.
78. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, pls. XII, XV, XVI, XVII, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXIX, XXXIX, XLV, LIV, LXXV, etc

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79. *Ibid.*, pls. XVIIIB, XL, LIa, etc.
80. *Ibid.*, pls. XVIIIa, XXII, XXVII, XLII, LV, LXIII, LXXIV, LXXIX, LXXXIV, LXXXVI, etc.
81. *Ibid.*, pls. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXVIc, XLI, XLII, XLVIII, XCVI, XCVII, XCVIII, CI, CIII, etc.
82. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, pls. XI, XII, XIII, XV-XVIII, XIXc, XXII, XXV, XXXIVa, XL-XLIII, XLIXc, LI, LV-LIX, LXV, XCVIII, CI, etc.
83. *Rāmā.*, II.71.41, *mālyāpaṇa.*
84. *Ahnika.*, II, vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 294, f.n. 11 (*mūlāḍhakam*).
85. *Vidhura Jātaka*; *Mahāvastu*, III. Also see T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 41; Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 58.
86. May the same be alluded to in *pushpalāvīs* of Kālidāsa mentioned in *Megha.*, I.28?
87. *Kumāra.*, VII.22.
88. See Piggott, Stuart, *Pre-historic India*, pp. 111-13, fig. 11.
89. See Wheeler, M., *The Indus Civilization*, p. 48, pl. XXIB.
90. Agrawala, R.C., 'Early Indian Bone Figures in the National Museum, New Delhi', *East and West*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3-4, p. 312, figs. 11-14.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 311, figs. 1-2.
92. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 658, nos. 45 and 47, pl. 203.
93. Motichandra, 'Ancient Indian Ivories, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 6 (1957-59), p. 21, pls. 3a and 3b; Agrawala, R.C., op. cit., pp. 313-14.
94. *Vedic Index*, I.58.
95. *Chullavagga*, V 1.5.
96. *Kumāra.*, IX.28.
97. Agrawala, V.S., *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 133.
98. *Kumāra.*, IX.28; *Digha Nikāya* vide Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 58.
99. *Kumāra.*, VIII.11; IX.29.
100. WG, North pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
101. See Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian Art*, figs. 86 and 87.
102. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
103. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XIII.
104. See Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, pl. XI; Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian Art*, fig. 87; Vogel, J. Ph., *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. L.
105. Agrawala, V.S., op. cit., p. 159. Cf. *śṛngāramañjūshā*, *Vikramo.*, IV.121, vide Upadhyaya, B.S., *Kālidāsa Kā Bhārata*, Pt. 1, p. 338.

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CHAPTER IV

ORNAMENTS AND JEWELLERY

PERSONAL adornment by man is the outcome of his love for beauty. It is evident from the term *alaṅkāra* itself, the use of which constitutes one of the arts applied in body beautification.[1] It has always been deemed auspicious to wear ornaments and jewellery on every occasion of festivity, both religious and secular. In ancient India, a person decked with ornaments was considered fit to be looked at (*darśanīya*).[2] In Ayodhyā of the *Rāmāyaṇa* age, not even a single man was found without ear-pendants (*kuṇḍala*), tiara (*mukuṭa*), garlands (*mālā*), armlets (*aṅgada*), necklace (*nishka*) and bracelets (*hastābharaṇa*).[3] For ladies, it was deemed to be quite inauspicious to go before their husbands without decorating themselves with ornaments.[4] Probably, therefore, in marriage, the father gave his daughter adorned with ornaments.[5] The tradition still persists. Of the two sexes, females from their childhood are very fond of ornaments and jewellery. Girls have been described many times as getting themselves decorated with ornaments.[6]

This love of ornaments is quite evident in Sāñchī sculptures. Men and women of all classes and ranks are represented in different panels on the gateways and railing pillars of the Sāñchī stūpas. They are profusely decked with personal ornaments and jewellery. Ornaments in Sāñchī art are numerous and varied. They exhibit many a variety and design which reveals the refined and aesthetic taste of the people wearing them.

Personal ornamentation has a long tradition closely associated with life of the Indian people. It can be traced back to remote antiquity. Terracotta figurines of Harappā culture provide evidence of the use of various refined and artistic ornaments and jewellery.[7] Ornaments used in Harappan times were headbands, ear-pendants, necklaces, girdles, finger-rings, armlets, bangles and bracelets.[8] Many ornamental beads of gold, silver, bronze, copper, shell, pottery and semi-precious stones like carnelian, agate, steatite, faience and lapis lazuli have been found from Harappā and Mohen-jo-daro.[9] A hoard of several hundred tiny gold beads unearthed from Lothal is specially to be mentioned here.[10]

The continuity of the use of ornaments and jewellery between the periods of the Harappans and Śuṅga-Sātavāhanas is very well-preserved in literature. The fashion of wearing ornaments is still in vogue. Today, man's ornaments are limited to finger-rings and gold chains for the neck and these too are not worn by all. But the ladies still cherish a great love for all sorts of ornaments and jewellery.

Indian ornamental art has always excelled in design and attractive quality compared to that of other countries. The symbols and designs of Indian ornaments have a religious bearing. The feeling of emotional dedication of the ornaments to gods and goddesses by the Hindus helped in advancing and developing the art. It is one reason why Hindu temples were the treasure-houses of jewellery worked in gold. This religious significance played an important part in the art of Indian ornaments.

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The sculptural evidence of ornaments and jewellery afforded by the panels on Sāñchī stūpas cannot point to their medium with certainty. But the design of the ornament and the rank of the person wearing it sometimes give a clue to it. We know from literature that nobles used ornaments of gold invariably. This fact is attested by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII.2.2.18) wherein gold is said to be the symbol of noble rank.[11] Moreover, references to gold ornaments are quite numerous and frequent, while those to silver are few and scanty.[12] This indicates the popularity of gold ornaments in use. From this evidence we may easily say that ornaments in Sāñchī reliefs, when used by the rich and the royalty, may be identified with those of gold. However, the presence of silver, ivory or shell ornaments among these representations cannot necessarily be ruled out.

The general terms for ornament were *alaṅkāra*, *ābharaṇa* and *ābhūshaṇa*. But the ornaments worn on different parts of the body were known by different names, i.e., *lalāṭikā* (*Aṣhṭā*, IV.3.65), worn on the forehead, *karṇikā* (ibid.), worn in the earlobes, *graiveyaka* (ibid., IV.2.95), worn round the neck, and *āṅgulīya* (ibid., IV.3.62), worn round the finger.[13] Ornaments worn on the head, hands and feet were termed as *śīrshābharaṇa*, *hastyābharaṇa* and *pādābharaṇa*.[14] Girdles or waist-bands were known as *mekhalā* or *kaṭisūtra*.[15] All these ornaments with a single exception of finger-rings are found well-represented in Sāñchī sculptures.

ŚĪRSHĀBHARAṆA (Head Ornaments)

Muktāvalī

Both males and females of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age decorated their head-dress or hair-dress with single or double strings of pearls, bands or ribbons studded with pearls and gold beads of various designs and jewels. Of the head ornaments a chain of pearls (*muktāvalī*) or gold beads (*maṭara-mālā*) consisting of single or double strings was very much popular with both the sexes. Ladies decorated their long tassels of hair with them. The śālabhañjikās decorated their plaits (*veṇī*) with these chains which hang at their back as necklaces hang over the chest (Figs. 12.1, 2). This assemblage of tiny gold flowers, according to some scholars, may be identified with the Vedic ornament *jhala*.[16]

Ladies used to tie their hair also with this ornament which makes a round passing over their forehead. A single string of pearls is seen decorating the long and conical coiffure of the goddess Gaja-Lakshmī (Fig. 11.1),[17] a bracket śālabhañjikā (Fig. 11.10)[18] and a lady worshipping the *Bodhi*-tree (Fig. 11.9).[19] A specimen of double string tied round the head is to be seen on the figure of a small śālabhañjikā (Fig. 12.4).[20] The popularity of this ornament even during the Mauryan period is apparent from the figure of the *chaurī*-bearer[21] found from Didarganj (Patna).[22] Padmini Sengupta identifies this ornament with the Vedic *balapāśya*.[23]

Svarṇapaṭṭikā

Gold bands with attractive designs were also tied over the head by womenfolk of the time. A lady has on her head a cross in front made of two bands, one of which looks like a row of flanking leaves and the other a row of gold squares (Fig. 11.6).[24] Another lady wraps the band in a different style in which it passes over her right ear and goes to the left side of her head in a slanting way. She also wears a string of pearls suspended over her ears and tucked in the middle of her forehead over which there appears a big and round jewel (Fig. 11.2).[25] This ornament seems to be *lalāṭikā* of *Aṣhṭādhyāyī* (IV.3.65). The ornament is still very much popular among the women of Rājasthān. It is worn by the bride at the time of marriage in Uttar Pradesh. Another flower-like ornament is seen at the top of the conical coiffure of a lady (Fig. 11.3).[26]

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Males also decorated their turbans with these chains of gold-beads or pearls. We have a number of styles of decoration of turbans represented in Sāñchī sculptures. Single and double strings of pearls and gold beads of various designs, sometimes gold bands studded with pearls were wrapped in folds or projections of turban. Kings and other nobles used these ornaments tucked in their turban (*ushṇīśa*). The turban of prince Viśvantara appears to be elaborately bejewelled (Fig. 3.14).[27] Turban decorated with a string of pearls is worn by one of the seven claimants of Buddha's relics who is seen on a chariot in the scene of the besieged city of Kuśīnagara (Fig. 3.15).[28] Two nagas[29] coming out of a lotus pond and a stag rider[30] appear with similar turbans (Figs. 3.1-3).

Chūḍāmaṇi

Gold bands or diadems were used by men for securing their hair in the style of ribbons or fillets. Such a band with a large jewellery flower in the middle of the forehead, flanked by a square probably made of gold on either side, is seen on the figure of a doorkeeper (*dvārapāla*) on the Western Gateway (Fig. 9.12).[31] Another style of the forehead band with its beaded cores and a large and round attachment at the left side above the ear may also be seen at the same gateway (Fig. 13.6).[32] These large attachments appear to be the *chūḍāmaṇi*[33] or *śikhāmaṇi*[34] (jewel of hair).

Kirīṭa

It does not seem to be correct that the earliest representation of a crown in Indian art was introduced by about the end of the sixth century and the real form developed in the tenth century.[35] The representation of the crown is first seen in the art of Sāñchī. Beginning with a beaded gold band, it evolved into a majestic form during the time of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas. Gold bands or diadems have just been described above. A few specimens of a developed coronet and crown are given below. A couple of hunters – the man holding the quiver and the woman the bow[36]—are seen wearing ornamental coronets. It consists of a band with upward conical projections like a row of lotus petals (Fig. 13.5). A somewhat similar headgear with squarish projections is seen on the heads of the lion-riders on the Western Gateway (Fig. 13.4).[37] Another example of a tiara is seen on the figure of a Yaksha.[38] In this ornament, a large wheel-like jewel with flanking feathers is tucked over the beaded forehead-band (Fig. 9.8).

A further step in the evolution of the tiara or crown is to be found in the headgear of the ram-riders.[39] It is in the form of a helmet with a row of lotus leaf-like projections in front (Fig. 13.3). The most developed and majestic forms of the crown are to be seen on the head of the person identified with Śakra in the scenes of the Viśvantara[40] and Śyāma Jātakas.[41] One of the crowns of Śakra is very high with its characteristic chequered design with pearls tucked at intervals (Fig. 13.1; Pl. XII). Another headgear is truly a crown with stylistic projections attached to a forehead band. The middle projection is in the form of a leaf which is flanked by those in the form of two serpents, face to face, with raised hoods, and the other flanking curved projections are attached to it (Fig. 13.2). These specimens are the earliest representations of the crown (*kirīṭa*) which became very popular as a royal insignia in subsequent times. In view of this fact, 'Indra's representation in Sāñchī art wearing only a turban and its complete replacement by the cylindrical head-dress in the art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', as stated by Krishnamurthy, is far from the truth.[42]

The crown in Sāñchī sculptures is generally worn by the males. Its limited use among the males of the age is also found mentioned by the great grammarian Patañjali.[43]

KARṆA-ĀBHARAṆA (Ear Ornaments)

In India wearing ear-ornaments (*karṇābharaṇa*) is an age-

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old practice. The ceremony of perforating the earlobes (*karṇa-chhedana*) was included among the Vedic *saṁskāras* (rituals of purification). From the days of the Harappans to those of ours, the fashion of wearing ear-pendants continues. At present, the fashion is normally confined to ladies only but in ancient times it was popular among both men and women alike. The perforation of earlobes is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* as *karṇaśobhana* which also indicates body beautification. The ear-pendants mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* were round like a wheel[44] and usually made of gold.[45]

During the time of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas, heavy ear-ornaments of various shapes and designs were worn by the people. The fact is testified by their lively representations in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. A few selected forms of different varieties are discussed below.

Square pendants, generally in floral designs, were commonly used. One may find the ear-ornaments of this variety on the figures of the princess brandishing a fly-whisk on the prince Viśvantara,[46] a śālabhañjikā[47] and a Lakshmī[48] (Figs. 14.5, 8). Sometimes a dome-like projection on a square terrace was also adopted as a model for an ear-ornament. Such a *stūpikā*-shaped ear-pendant is seen being worn by a Gaja-Lakshmī (Fig. 14.14).[49] A square ornament with a tapering projection below was also a favourite design (Fig. 14.15).[50]

Some specimens of long and square ear-pendants suspended from a piece of cloth tied apparently under the *ushṇīśa* are also to be found (Fig. 14.13).[51] This form of ear-ornament appears to be primitive in nature. Sometimes a cylindrical ornament with a single[52] or double wrapping[53] in the middle was hung horizontally from a hook fixed in the ear (Fig. 14.17). A cylindrical ornament with tapering ends is seen being worn by a horse-rider[54] (Fig. 14.16).

Circular heavy pendants like a flower were also used, as witnessed on the figures of the bracket śālabhañjikās[55] (Fig. 14.7). A lady of the dancing troupe[56] wears a wheel-like ornament (Fig. 14.24) which may be identified with '*suvrataṁ suchakraṁ*' (perfectly round wheel) of the *Ṛgveda*.[57] Ladies also wore round ear-tops[58] (*karṇa-phūla*, i e., ear-flower). It is not improbable that the small circles or dots in the reliefs represent the encrusting gems or precious stones. All these pendants have floral designs consisting of either conical, long or round petals with a small circle in the centre. These pendants have a knob at the top, either for inserting a piece of thread or nail to fix it in the earlobe.

Ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*) of heavy and wide body were also in use, as evidenced in the Sāñchī sculptures. Lion-riders in a panel have this ornament (Fig. 14.19).[59] One of the four dwarfs of the north side pillar-capital of the Western Gateway wears this ornament which is double (Fig. 14.18). This form of ornament was worn by inserting it into the earlobes and was aptly known as *karṇaveshṭaka*.[60]

Of other designs of ear-pendants, one of the shape of a conch-shell and the other of a crescent are quite peculiar. The first, being worn by a dancer, is beautifully sketched by Maisey[61] (Fig. 14.20) and the other comes from a figure on the north pillar of the Eastern Gateway (Fig. 14.12). Another variety of ear-ornament consisted of a double cone with small strings of globular beads or pearls (Fig. 14.9).[62] It is known as *bundā* or *jhumakā* in modern terminology and may be identified with *karṇachūlikā* of Bhāsa.[63]

Double (Figs. 14.2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 18, 21, 22, 24) and even more than two pendants (Fig. 14.23) in one ear were also in use. The representation of some specimens of such ornaments in Sāñchī art marks it out as a popular mode of wear in the days the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas.

Puṣpāvataṁsa

Some of the ear-ornaments represented in Sāñchī art appear to be natural flowers (Figs. 14.2, 4, 6, 7).[64] The presence of the leaf along with the flower-buds makes it clear that it is a natural flower or a leaf-scroll that is represented (Figs. 14.1, 2).[65]

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Literary references confirm that flowers of *karṇikāra*[66] and lotus (*karṇotpala*)[67] were used as ear-pendants. *Avataṁsaka*, an ear-ornament mentioned in the *Chullavagga*, III.13, was made of flower.[68] The terms *patrāṅkura*[69] and *patrāvataṁsa*[70] are indicative of floral ear-ornaments. A *karṇotpala* of many petals is seen on the person of a lion-rider[71] and a lady standing on a railing pillar (Fig. 14.23).[72] Almost similar ear-pendants of double leafy design have been worn by the goat riders[73] (Fig. 14.21; Pl. XLIV). Examples of such ornaments are also found executed on Stūpa No. 3 where it appears to be a bud since it has partially blossomed[74] (Fig. 14.11) and also made of two buds stretched one upon the other[75] (Fig. 14.10).

GRĪVĀ-ĀBHARAṆA (Neck Ornaments)

Ornaments worn round the neck have a great antiquity. Necklaces of tiny gold beads and stone beads excavated from the Harappan sites have been already described above. The *Ṛgveda* mentions *nishka*,[76] *maṇi*[77] and *rukma*[78] as neck-ornaments. People wearing them have been referred to therein as *nishka-grīva*,[79] *maṇi-grīva*[80] and *rukma-vaksha*.[81] *Nishka* and *rukma* made of gold and silver were used by both men and women alike.[82] From the terms it appears that *nishka-grīva* and *maṇi-grīva* were short ornaments worn round the neck (*kaṇṭha*), whereas *rukma-vaksha* was a long one hanging over the breasts and sometimes even reaching up to the navel. The former was, therefore, also called *nishka-kaṇṭha*.[83] Pāṇini's *graiveyaka*,[84] which has also been referred to in a *Jātaka*[85] story and the *Amarakośa*,[86] was the same. In modern terminology these short necklaces are known as *kaṇṭhā* or *gulūbanda*. *Arthaśāstra* contains a detailed list of the multi-stringed large necklaces where the name of the ornament differs according to the number of strings (*yashṭi* or *laḍī*) of which it was made.[87] Now-a-days it is called a *hāra*.

Ekāvalī

Reliefs on the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas represent both the varieties of long and short neck-ornaments being worn by men and women. Long necklaces were normally composed of one, two and even more pearl-strings. Hanging between the breasts, the ornament was aptly called *lalantikā*.[88] Devoid of spacers and pendulum, a single-stringed neck-ornament may be identified with the *yashṭi* (*laḍī*)[89] or *ekāvalī*[90] (Fig. 15.1; Pls. XA, XXI, XXIII). This piece of ornament, which appears to have been very much popular among the womenfolk, may be seen on the figures of Padmāsanā Lakshmī,[91] Gaja-Lakshmī,[92] Indrāṇī or Śachī,[93] śālabhañjikās,[94] queens,[95] dancers,[96] *chaurī*-bearers[97] and other attendants. Normally, the *ekāvalī* is not seen on male figures in Sāñchī sculptures, which clearly indicates that the ornament was popular among the fair sex only.

Dulaḍī and Tilaḍī

A double-stringed pearl necklace (*dulaḍī*) with or without floral patterns attached in the middle and sides (Figs. 15.2, 3), though rarely represented on the figures of both sexes,[98] apparently did not find favour with the people represented in the art of the Sāñchī stūpas. A necklace composed of three pearl-strings (*tilaḍī*) is found only on some female figures adorning the rail-pillars of Stūpa No. 2 (Pls. XXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII) and with its absence from the figures of the Great Stūpa, it is apparent that the fashion did not continue among the females of the following period.

Hāras

The other variety of long necklaces generally used by Sāñchī male figures is that of multi-stringed and is noticeably thick and heavy. Sometimes there are pendants and spacers of various forms. *Dvārapālas*,[99] kings,[100] *devas*[101] and men of rank[102] represented in reliefs wear such heavy and multi-stringed necklaces (Figs. 15.4; 16.1, 3; 40.1-3). *Kumbhāndas* and *kīchakas*, spouting the Tree of Life (*Kalpalatā*) on the

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Southern[103] and Small Gateways[104] also wear such neck-ornaments of various designs and decorations (Figs. 15.4, 5, 7, 8, 9). On the basis of evidence provided by the bas-reliefs on the Sāñchī gateways and rail-pillars, it is easily gathered that men of the time liked to wear heavy and styled necklaces.

Ladies rarely used such heavy necklaces. Only a few representations are to be found on the Sāñchī female figures. The two queens and attendants flanking a king[105] (Pl. LXXII) and Gaja-Lakshmī in some panels (Pl. XXII)[106] wear short and broad necklaces. From a close examination of the Sāñchī bas-reliefs, it is obvious that light and single-stringed *ekāvalī* was liked by the ladies, whereas heavy and multi-stringed *hāras* were popular among the menfolk of the period under study.

Besides the necklaces of pearl-strings, many other styles were also popular which were worked possibly in gold with encrusting gems. One appears quite modern in design. It consists of a chain made of tiny pieces of fish patterns intersecting into each other (Fig. 15.5).

Kaṇṭhā

Other gold necklaces worn round the neck, the *graiveyaka* or *kaṇṭhā* in the true sense, were sufficiently wide but short in length. One such necklace consisted of the lotus petal designs surrounded by long and round cornered leaves (Fig. 16.9).[107] Another round and short necklace was made of thin and curvilineal linings of gold suspended in a gold chain (Fig. 16.8).[108] Flat rectangular leaf motifs attached to a round and twisted gold thread and a pearl-string constituted another style of short necklace (Fig. 16.5).[109] The most attractive and a quite refined design of a short necklace, seen round the neck of a *dhārapāla*, was composed of a twisted gold thread attached with pearls and spherical beads alternated with the inverted 'V' scrolls and two flowers at the ends (Fig. 16.7; Pl. IX).[110] A wavy rod around the neck was another very simple form of the short necklace (Fig. 16.2).[111]

A round rod of silver with tapering ends, sometimes square in the middle and having geometrical designs, is still in use among rural women and is known as *hansulī* or *sutiyā*.[112] Another crescent-shaped thin ornament, which is a flat sheet with some tiny attachments along the outer core, is known as *taṁka*. All the specimens of short necklaces of the Sāñchī bas-reliefs described above seem to be the prototypes of the present *sutiyā* or *taṁka*.

Ashṭamaṁgalaka mālā

Necklaces composed of some auspicious symbols or amulets represented in Sāñchī sculptures are noteworthy. These were used probably with some definite purpose. Associated with some auspicious character these neck ornaments were considered effective to ward off evil. A very small necklet consisting of two amulets in the shape of the *nandipada* symbol separated by a globular bead inserted in between, has been represented in a *kalpalatā* design (Fig. 34.2).[113] It is worn by the genii spouting the *kalpalatā*.[114] A woman of a couple in this design also wears and that of another holds on her knees a necklace of similar symbolic beads including the pendulum of *pankaja* with *nandipada* beads in the form of *mīna-mithuna*, *aṁkuśa* and *vaijayantī* on one side and those of *khadga*, *darpaṇa* and *vaijayantī* on the other. The ornament is also seen round the neck of one of the four *kumbhāṇḍas* forming the capital on the south pillar of the Western Gateway. Similar necklets have also been found represented in the contemporary art of Bharhut[115] and Pītalkhorā[116] which indicates its continental popularity.

Two long necklaces among a group of eighteen hanging on pegs[117] speak of another variety in which the number of symbolical beads was more than seven. One of them contains eleven and the other thirteen amulets. Some of them are very clear including the symbols of *sūrya* (sun) used as spacers and *pankaja* with *nandipada* in the centre (lotus with taurine) as

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pendulum. Others are *mīna-mithuna* (fish-pair), *śrīvatsa* (an auspicious symbol), *aṅkuśa* (goad), *paraśu* (battle-axe), *vaijayantī* (India's triangular-headed banner), *darpaṇa* (mirror), *kalpa-taru* (wish-fulfilling tree) and what Agrawala identifies as *pushpadāma*,[118] garland of flowers (Figs. 16.4, 6). Such long *hāras* of symbols are quite peculiar and found only in the sculptures at Sāñchī.

Agrawala rightly identifies these necklaces with *ashṭamaṅgalaka mālā*.[119] Out of several auspicious symbols (*maṅgalas*), according to him, the number was fixed at eight in the Kushāṇa period, as is seen on the Jain *āyāgapaṭṭas* of Mathurā and mentioned in a Jain text, *Aṅgavijjā*. Subsequently, the number of eight was stereotyped in the time of Harsha when Bāṇa compares the eighteen islands encircling Bhāratavarsha to an *ashṭamaṅgalaka mālā*. Thus, the ornament was termed as *ashṭamaṅgalaka mālā*, irrespective of the number of its amulets.[120] Sāñchī art is, therefore, to be regarded as an important one for preserving the rare evidence of a lost tradition of personal ornamentation. These long necklaces hanging up to the navel appear to be the prototypes of the present ornament composed of some silver coins attached to a thread and is still being worn by several rural and Ādivāsī women of the country. This ornament is known as *hamela* in U.P., *kāsulaperu* in Andhra Pradesh and *kāsumālai* in Tamilnadu.[121]

Vaikakshyaka

A very peculiar ornament being worn by both men and women in the panels of the Sāñchī bas-reliefs was composed of two chains arranged in a way that forms a cross below the breasts. Over the cross there was attached a flowery medallion. Similar medallions were also attached to the chains on both the shoulders and hips. The ornament also formed a corresponding cross at the back with a medallion over it which is quite evident from the scene of the Māra's army represented on the middle architrave of the Northern Gateway (Pl. XIII). At least three varieties of the ornament are quite noticeable—the first composed of gold chains (Fig. 16.12), the second of pearl-strings (Fig. 16.10) and the third of straps studded with a row of pearls or small gems (Fig. 16.11).

At Sāñchī this ornament is seen on the figures of the śālabhañjikās standing on the lower architrave (Figs. 1.1; 2.3), demons of the Māra's army gathered for temptation of the Buddha at the rear of the middle architrave (Pl. XIII) and the ladies in pairs holding swords in a design on the outer face of a pillar of the Northern Gateway. One of the kīchakas or kumbhāṇḍas on the Small Gateway and Western Gateway capitals and another within a design of Tree of Life on the lower architrave of the Southern Gateway, a queen in a *jalakrīḍā* scene and a lady with a harp in her lap enjoying picnic with her spouse on the same gateway (Pl. XLIX) and the female dancers of the Western,[122] Eastern[123] (Figs. 35.3, 6; Pl. LVI) and Small Gateways[124] also wear it.

This cross-chain ornament has a long tradition. Its representation is found in stone sculptures and reliefs, bronzes, ivories and terracottas. The fashion of wearing this ornament goes back to very ancient times. It is evident from terracotta statuettes from Sārī Ḍherī in the north-west region. One of them is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[125] Here, it is without medallions on the hips. Another terracotta figure from Sārī Ḍherī, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is profusely decorated with ornaments and flowers. The cross-chain ornament on this figure is composed of double chains and double medallions on the hips and shoulders.[126]

A Besnagar Yakshī and the Yakshī Chūlakokā of Bharhut, both in the Indian Museum, Calcutta wear this ornament which is quite similar to that of Sāñchī. A female terracotta figurine from Kauśāmbī assigned to *c.* 255-185 B.C.[127] also decorates her body with this ornamental band. The lady of a donor couple sculptured on the left of the *chaitya* facade at Kārlī also wears it.[128] A queen sitting with the king and two of her maid-servants are seen wearing this cross-chain ornament in a panel

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from the Amarāvatī sculpture.[129] An ivory female figurine of Begrām (Afghanistan), the old city of Kapiśā, is also illustrated with this cross-band.[130] Here it consists of only one medallion at the cross in front, presumably having the corresponding one at the back. The figurine, having Hellenistic appearance, has differently been dated by scholars between *c.* 1st century B.C.[131] and 2nd-3rd century A.D.[132]

Examples of this ornament are found on the figures of the Māra, the Nāgarāja Apalāla and the two dwarfs in the Ikshuvāku art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[133] A fragment of sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa showing the Mother Goddess in sitting pose also represents the ornament made of chains and the medallions in the shape of *nandipadas*.[134]

Another example of a cross-chain ornament is found on a terracotta panel of the Gupta period (5th century A.D.) from Ahichchhatrā, now in the National Museum, New Delhi. The male rider sitting on the back of a centauress (*kimpurusha*) wears this ornament composed of a single central medallion and double chains.[135] Similar ornament is seen on one of the *gaṇas* of Śiva devastating the *yajña* of Daksha in another terracotta panel from Ahichchhatrā of the same period in the same museum.[136] This cross-chain ornament is also noticed on the figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in the stone panels from Deogarh[137] and Shringverpur,[138] both belonging to the 5th century A.D.

A 7th-century stone panel from Temple No. 2 of Nālandā represents Rāma and Sītā sitting beneath a tree. Here, Rāma wears the cross-bands with a central medallion.[139] A Pahāṛpur terracotta plaque provides another example of this ornament on the body of a man who is said to be a dancer or a warrior without a weapon. The plaque was found from the excavations conducted during 1926-34 from the level belonging to the period from *c.* 770 to 815 A.D.[140]

The fashion of this ornament further went on, and it is seen on many male[141] and female[142] figures of the south as late as the 9th century A.D. Now the ornament consisted of only one medallion, round or quadrangular in shape at the cross below the breasts. A stone sculpture of Chāmuṇḍā Durgā, a *tāmasika* form of Devī as Mahishāsuramardinī belonging to the 12th-13th century A.D., now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, wears this cross-band.[143]

The cross-chain ornament is also seen on the figures of Cambodia, Nepāl and Śrī Laṅkā. A bronze statue of Hanumāna in the guise of a warrior from Phnom Penh, Cambodia belonging to the 12th century A.D.[144] and a stone figure of the same deity from Bhaktapur, Nepāl belonging to the 18th century A.D.[145] have cross-bands on their person. The four-armed Sūniyam yakā from the wall paintings of the Śaṅkhapāla vihāra in Śrī Laṅkā belonging to the 18th century A.D. is also seen with the cross-chest bands.[146] This shows that the fashion of wearing this cross-chain ornament was present in Indian society from the very ancient times to the 18th century A.D. But it was comparatively more popular among both men and women of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana periods.

The ancient nomenclature of this ornament is not known for certain. Sivaramamurti identifies it with *vaikakshyaka*;[147] when made of gold it was called *hema-vaikakshyaka*.[148] But Rao calls it *chhannavīra*.[149] *Chhannavīra*, according to him, is an ornament which may be rightly called a double *yajñopavīta*.[150] On the basis of a verse quoted by him without its reference, he says, "In this (ornament) two *yajñopavītas* thrown one on each shoulder, pass through the middle of the chest where they are connected with the *ura-sūtra* or the chest-bands, from which they turn to the back and thence to the shoulders."[151]

To Sivaramamurti *chhannavīra* was a warrior's cross-band on the chest[152] as is seen on the figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa represented in a panel on the Gupta temple at Deogarh (*c.* 5th century A.D.) in a scene depicting the disfiguring of Śūrpaṇakhā by Lakshmaṇa.[153] In other scenes also Rāma and Lakshmaṇa both have been shown equipped with this cross-band.[154] A contemporary panel from Shringverpur showing Rāma and Lakshmaṇa with monkey kings also represents this

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cross-band on the body of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa.[155]

But, identifying the cross-chain ornament of a Śrīvatsa sculpture from Kāveripakkam, now in the Madras Govt. Museum, assignable to *c.* 9th century A.D., Sivaramamurti says, "The *chhannavīra* as the name itself suggests has a military origin and in early sculptures it is worn by warriors . . . This later came to be treated in a more delicate fashion and has become a mere ornament for women and children and is thus to be seen worn by Devīs and Bālakṛshṇa."[156]

Now Sivaramamurti's identification of this ornament with *chhannavīra* is alright if we accept its meaning as an ornament as shown by Rao. But Sivaramamurti's interpretation of this term as a warrior's cross-band and its evolution as an ornament from that band do not appear to be convincing. This is probably because he considers the evidence of only Gupta and post-Gupta periods, particularly from south India and appears to have not taken into account the representations of the ornament in the pre-Gupta arts; and only therefore, he believes in its military origin. But, since its popular use by ladies as an ornament is found as early as the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age as shown above, it cannot be accepted as a later development of its previous form of a military equipment. Its presence as an ornament in the pre-Gupta period invalidates the thesis of its origin as warrior's cross-band in the so-called early sculptures (belonging to the Gupta period).

Actually, the cross-chain ornament was quite different from the warrior's cross-band. While the former was composed of gold chains with attractive flowery medallions and used for personal decoration, the latter was made of metallic or leather bands devoid of any decorations and served the purpose of an armour or fastening-band of the quiver at the back. Moreover, whereas the cross-chain ornament was composed of two chains, the warrior's band was made of three or more. It is quite evident from the chest-bands of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in different panels from Deogarh and Shringverpur. Besides the two cross-bands there is an additional one which is attached horizontally at the cross, apparently in order to make the fastening of the quiver possible. It is quite obvious that while in exile Rāma and Lakshmaṇa could not have worn an ornament. Hence, it is nothing but the fastening band of a quiver. Another example of a similar chest cross-band may be cited from a panel on a pillar of the Western Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī. In this scene of the *Sāma Jātaka*, the king of Vārāṇasī is represented as an archer. He is seen equipped with this cross-band of many straps (Fig. 5.7). Thus, it is very clear that the cross-chain ornament and the warrior's cross-band were two different articles.

As far as the question of the interpretation of the two terms, *chhannavīra* and *vaikakshyaka*, is concerned we have already seen that the derivation of one from the other is not possible. There is, on the other hand, some indication of their simultaneous prevalence. Its identification is, therefore, to be sought in the context of their respective appearance. We think, whenever a cross-band appears in a heroic context it may be taken to be a *chhannavīra* but when exhibited in a decorative perspective with the express purpose of improving the personal looks, it can be nothing else than a *vaikakshyaka*. The cross chain representations in the Sāñchī bas-reliefs, therefore, were the ornaments for personal decoration and hence they may safely be identified with *vaikakshyaka*, *hema-vaikakshyaka* or *muktā-vaikakshyaka*.

HASTA-ĀBHARAṆA (Hand Ornaments)

The fashion of wearing ring ornaments on wrist (bracelets) and elbow (armlets) is also age-old. References to these hand ornaments (*hasta-ābharaṇa*) are found even in the *Ṛgveda* as *khādi-hasta*[157] and *bhuja-ābharaḥ*.[158] Bracelets were popularly known as *kaṭaka*, *kaṅkaṇa* and *valaya*[159] and armlets as *keyūra*[160] and *aṅgada*.[161] In Indian art the earliest evidence of the ornament is found in the Harappan culture wherein bracelets of gold, silver, copper, bronze and faience were used.[162]

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The best example of the bracelets and the armlets of the Harappan times is found on the bronze image of a dancing girl.[163] Evidence of armlets is also found on the famous stone torso of a priest[164] and a terracotta figurine.[165]

Kaṅkaṇa

In Sāñchī art, both these hand ornaments are found well-represented. From the representations it is clear that the hand ornaments were worn by both men and women. Hardly do we find a man of rank without bracelets. The hands of the ladies have always been shown full of bangles which are quite thick and appear to be an ornament like bracelets. Almost all the śālabhañjikās, Lakshmī figures, queens, dancers and worshippers have been represented with their hands full of bangles or bracelets upto the elbow (Fig. 13.10). There is only one variety of the bracelets worn by the lady figures and that is plain rings between the wrist and the elbow. It is probably the ivory ornament, firstly, because the rings are quite simple and plain and, secondly, because the vicinity of Vidiśā was the headquarter of the guilds of the ivory workers (*dantakāras*). However, bangles of the daughters of Māra with a thicker bracelet on both the ends, pose a single exception[166] (Pl. LVIII).

Bracelets apparently thicker in size and smaller in number than those of the ladies were used by males. These bracelets were composed of four to seven rings. People of the common class wore ornaments of plain rings, while those of high rank used an elaborate and bejewelled variety of the ornament. Bracelets of four rings in the hands of the dwarfs of the capitals of the Western Gateway are plain and quite ordinary (Fig. 13.9). But those of the Māra,[167] the *Nāgarāja* Muchalinda,[168] *dvārapālas*,[169] kings, nobles,[170] and *devas*[171] are stylistic and bejewelled. Normally two pearl-beaded rings were alternated with other three rings of twisted gold wire and studded with small round gems[172] (Figs. 13.7, 8; Pls. VI-IX).

Keyūra

An armlet is rarely represented in Sāñchī sculptures. Only four examples of the ornament are available, two each from Stūpa Nos. 1 and 2. The central figure of the *Kumbhāṇḍas* within a design of the Tree of Life on an architrave[173] and elephant riders on a false capital[174] of the Southern Gateway have been shown wearing the armlet. The other two examples are found on the figures of two women each standing on separate rail-pillars of Stūpa No. 2.[175]

The armlet depicted at Sāñchī is in a trident form of a gold plate attached to a gold strap or a double string of pearl beads. The form of the ornament is normally one and the same and is quite typical (Figs. 13.11, 12). This trefoil motif in armlet called as *sapatra keyūra* was very much popular in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C.[176] It is attested by its representation on the contemporary figures from Bharhut,[177] Mathura,[178] Bodhagaya[179] and Besnagar.[180] The contemporary kinnarī pot from Begram[181] also represents it.

Popularity of the use of an armlet in the days of Mauryas and Śuṅgas is quite evident from its representation on the huge statues of the Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs found from Vidiśā,[182] Mathurā,[183] Pawāyā[184] and Patnā,[185] their sculptures on the railing pillars of Bharhut[186] and Pauni[187] and on the figure of Indra on a railing pillar of Bodha Gaya.[188] Therefore, absence of its representation on the subsequent *toraṇas* is worth consideration. Since the ornament is found on the figures of Stūpa No. 2 and the Southern Gateway of the Great Stūpa which are chronologically earlier than the remaining gateways, it is quite probable that the fashion of wearing an armlet in the area, in the days of the execution of the other three gateways of Stūpa No. 1 and the Small Gateway of Stūpa No. 3 was becoming less popular and sensing the trend the artists left its representation.

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KAṬI-ĀBHARAṆA (Girdles)

Mekhalā

In Sāñchī sculptures, ladies have been shown wearing girdles. As the males secured their *dhotī* by fastening it with their belt-cloth, females used a belt rarely of cloth but generally made of gold chains, beads or pearls (*suvarṇa mekhalā* or *ratna-mekhalā*).[189] The ornament was made by inserting a gold chain into gold beads, pearls or gems. Evidence of girdles made of gems like sapphire (*maṇi-mekhalā*) is also available from literature.[190]

From Sāñchī art, it is clear that the girdles used by the ladies of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana times were composed of many strings, from two to six (Figs. 17.1-6; Pls. XA, LXI, LXVII, LXXVII, LXXVIII).

Although the Sāñchī specimens do not confirm it, yet these girdles must have been provided with hooks, as is evidenced from the five-stringed girdle of the Didarganj Yakshī[191] and the three-stringed one of a Mathurā female on a rail-pillar.[192]

Wearing of girdles by ladies has great antiquity. The terracotta figurines of the Mother Goddesses from the Harappan sites are profusely decorated with girdles.[193] An embossed lady figure on a gold plaque unearthed from a mound of Lauriyā Nandangarh also wears a beaded girdle of a single string.[194] In literature, too, the ornament is frequently mentioned with different terms.[195]

PĀDA-ĀBHARAṆA (Foot Ornaments)

Like waist-bands, foot ornaments or anklets were also used only by ladies in ancient times. On the basis of the evidence provided by the Sāñchī bas-reliefs, the ladies of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age used two varieties of foot ornament, both separately and combined. One of them was a group of thin and plain ringlets round the legs and the other a single but thicker ring which was either plain or with twisted projections and sometimes bejewelled (Figs. 17.7-12). Usually the group of ringlets was made of one piece of wire by twisting it into many rings. It is apparent from the figure of the bracket śālabhañjikā of the Eastern Gateway.[196] Mostly the feet of the ladies were full of thin rings half-way to the knees without a thicker ring at the bottom (Pls. XA, XB, LXI, LXVII, LXXII, LXXVIII). A thicker ring alone was also worn without small rings (Pls. XXVII, LXXVII). These thicker rings must have been hollow with some very small pieces of stone inside in order to produce a jingling sound while walking. These thicker rings may be identified with the *nūpura* or the modern *jhāñjhara*. Even today, the ladies of the rural areas in the vicinity of Bhopal wear these anklets made of silver.

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2. *M. Bhāshya*, I.3.1, vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 203.
3. *Rāmā.*, I.6.10-11.
4. *Kāmasūtra*, vide Rai, U.N., *Prāchina Bhārata men Nagara tathā Nagara Jivana*, p. 332.
5. *Manu*, III.27,28. Also see *Āśv. GS*. I.6; *Bau.Dh. DS*, I.11.20.2; *Āp. DS*, II.5.11.17 vide Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, p. 205, f.n. 13.
6. *M. Bhāshya*, III.1.87, vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 203. Cf. *Rāmā*, II.67.17 which refers to maidens decked with gold ornaments.
7. See Wheeler, M., *The Indus Civilization*, pl. XIX.

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8. Piggott, Stuart, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 187-89; Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, pp. 29-30.
9. Wheeler, M., *The Indus Civilization*, p. 73, see pl. XXII.
10. Rao, S.R., 'The Excavation at Lothal', *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, 1957, p. 87, fig. 30.
11. Basu, Jogiraj, *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 56.
12. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 40.
13. Agrawala, V.S., *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 131.
14. Aśvaghosha's *Sukhāvativyūha*, Vol. I, Pt. II (Ed. by Maxmueller, pp. 41-42). Ornaments worn on the ear and round the neck are also mentioned therein as *karṇābharaṇa* and *grīvābharaṇa*.
15. *Chullavagga*, V.1.3., *kaṭisutta*.
16. Sengupta, Padmini, *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, p. 183.
17. SG, Front, Upper architrave.
18. NG, East end.
19. WG, Front, South end, Middle lintel.
20. NG, Back, East end, standing on the lower architrave.
21. See Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 5.
22. Although, on stylistic evidence, some scholars attribute the sculpture to a later period, roughly contemporary to that of the Sāñchī gateways (Ray, N.R., *The Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, p. 48ff; Rowland, Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India*, note No. 19 to Ch. 5, pp. 49-50; Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 5), yet the characteristic polish marks it out to be a Mauryan work.
23. *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, p. 183.
24. Stūpa No. 2, a pillar of the Northern Entrance.
25. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 1.
26. Stūpa No. 2, pillar No. 71a.
27. NG, Lower architrave, Back.
28. SG, Lower architrave, Back.
29. SG, Middle architrave, Back.
30. SG, West end, lower die, Back.
31. WG, South pillar, Inner face.
32. WG, South pillar, outer face.
33. *Mahāsāra Jāt.* (No. 92); *Raghu.*, XVII.28; *Kumāra.*, VI.81.
34. *Rāmā.*, V.38.66.
35. Vidya Prakash, *Khajurāho*, p. 114.
36. EG, Front, North end, Middle lintel.
37. WG, Back, South end, middle die.
38. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar no. 9a.
39. EG, Back, North end, Middle die.
40. NG, Back, Lower architrave.
41. WG, North pillar, Inner face.
42. Krishnamurthy, K., *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: A Cultural Study*, p. 257.
43. Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 204. Cf. Shastri, Nemichandra, *Mahākavi Bhāsa*, p. 529 (*mukuṭa, Pratijñā*, II.3). Also see *Rāmā.*, IV.9.26.
44. *RV*, X.85.20, '*hiraṇyavarṇaṁ suvrataṁ suchakraṁ*', golden and perfectly round wheel (like ornament).
45. *RV*, X.85.20, *hiraṇyavarṇaṁ*; I.122.14, *hiraṇyakarṇaṁ*.
46. NG, Lower architrave.
47. NG, Front, East end, standing on lower architrave.
48. SG, Front, East end, Lower die.
49. SG, Upper architrave.
50. SG, Front, Middle architrave.
51. SG, Front, Western upper false capital; WG, Front, Northern capital.
52. Stupa No. 2, Rail pillar No. 21b.
53. Ibid., Pillar nos. 1b and 2a.
54. WG, Front, Northern upper false-capital.
55. NG, Front, East end, Upper architrave.
56. SG, Western pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
57. *RV*, X.85.20.
58. SG, Western pillar, Front and Inner faces.
59. NG, Front, Middle lintels. Also see Ground Rail Pillar No. 1a of Stupa No. 2.
60. *Paraskara GS*, vide Dr. Rai Govindchandra, *Vaidika yuga ke Bhāratīya Ābhūshaṇa*, p. 89. Subsequently it was also known as *karṇaveshṭanaṁ* in *Amarakośa*, II.6.103.
61. Maisey, F.C., *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. XIV.7.
62. NG, Back, Middle architrave.
63. *Svapna.*, II, *iyaṁ bhaṭṭārikā utkṛta karṇa chūliken.*
64. NG, Back, Middle architrave; SG, West pillar, Inner face.
65. NG, Back, Middle architrave.
66. *Ṛtu.*, VI.6.
67. *Megha.*, I.28.
68. Upadhyaya, Ramji, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Sāhitya Kī Sāmskṛtika Bhūmikā*, p. 830.
69. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 158.
70. Ibid.
71. WG, Back, South side, Middle lintel.
72. Stūpa No. 2, pillar No. 71a.
73. EG, Back, North side, Lower lintel.
74. Small Gateway, Front, North pillar Capital.
75. Ibid.
76. *RV*, II.33.10. See *Vedic Index*, I.454.
77. *RV*, I.122.14.
78. *RV*, I.166.10; IV.10.5; V. 53.4; V.56.1. See *Vedic Index*, II.224.
79. *RV*, V.19.3. Also in *AV* V.17.14.
80. *RV*, I.122.4.
81. *RV*, II.34.2, 8; VII.56.13.
82. *Āśv. ŚS*, III.9; *Śāṅkh. GS*, III. 17; *Śāṅkh. ŚS*, XVI.6, vide Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, pp. 159-60.
83. *Ait. Br.*, VIII.22. See *Vedic Index*, I.454. Cf. *Rāmā.*, V.5.25, *nishka-kaṇṭhī*.
84. *Aṣhṭā.*, IV.2.95.
85. *Jāt.*, VI.590 vide Agrawala, V.S., *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 130.
86. *Amara*, II.6.104: '*graiveyakaṁ kaṇṭhabhūshā*'.
87. *Artha.*, II.11.
88. *Amara.*, II.6.104, '*graiveyakaṁ kaṇṭhabhūshā lambanaṁ syāt lalantikā*'.
89. *Artha.*, II.11.
90. *Amara.*, II.6.106, *Svapna.*, IV.
91. SG, Front, East and Lower die.

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92. NG, Front, East end, lower die.
93. SG, West pillar, Front face.
94. NG, Front, Bracket śālabhañjikā; EG, Bracket śālabhañjikā.
95. NG, Front, Lower architrave.
96. EG, Front, North pillar.
97. NG, Front, Lower architrave.
98. NG, West pillar, Front face, Lower panel; WG, North capital.
99. Inner bottom of both pillars of NG and EG; South pillar of WG.
100. EG, Front, Lower architrave; SG, Back, Lower architrave (war scene).
101. SG, West pillar, Inner face, scene of worship of *chūḍa*; WG, Back, Lower architrave.
102. NG, West pillar, Front, Lower panel.
103. SG, Front, Lower architrave.
104. Stūpa No. 3, Small Gateway, Upper architrave.
105. SG, West pillar, Inner face.
106. NG, Front, East end, Lower die; EG, Front, North end, Lower die.
107. SG, Front, Lower architrave (extreme right).
108. EG, Front, North end, Middle lintel; EG, Back, South end, Middle false capital (camel-rider).
109. WG, North pillar, Outer face (lion-rider).
110. WG, South pillar, Inner face.
111. EG, Back, South end, bottom false capital (ram-riders).
112. The term indicates its origin probably from *sūta*, the thread. It might have been originally made of thread. It is evident from the term *kaṇṭhasuttakaṁ* for neck-ornament mentioned in the *Chullavagga*, V.1.3.
113. SG, West pillar, Outer face, Upper bent of the *kalpalatā* design.
114. A fragment of the lower portion of a gateway pillar, probably that of the SG is lying in the basement store of the National Museum, New Delhi.
115. See Cunningham, A., *Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XLIII.3, XLIV.5, XLVII.8, XLVIII.3 and L.3-6.
116. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, pl. XXXV, fig. 118b.
117. NG, East pillar, Outer face.
118. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 159; *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 122.
119. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 159; *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 122.
120. Ibid. The *Harivaṁśa* gives a list of 108 auspicious signs, *ashṭottaraśata māṅgalika chihna* (V.S. Agrawala, *Studies* in *Indian Art*, intro. p. iv).
121. Krishnamurthy, K., *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: A Cultural Study*, p. 255.
122. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
123. EG, Northern pillar, Front, second panel.
124. Small Gateway, West pillar, Back, Lower panel.
125. See Rowland, Benjamin, *The Art & Architecture in India*, pl. 6a.
126. Jeannine Auboyer, *Daily Life in Ancient India*, fig. 18.
128. Sharma, G.R., *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, p. 76, pl. 45b.
128. See Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 82.
129. Ramaswamy, N.S., *Amarāvatī*, pl. XIII.
130. See *Mārg*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (June 1971), p. 27, fig. 55.
131. J. Le Roy Davidson, 'Begram Ivories and Indian Stones', *Mārg*, op. cit., pp. 31-45; Motichandra, 'Ancient Indian Ivories', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 6, 1957-59, p. 36.
132. Jeannine Auboyer, 'Private Life in Ancient India as seen from the Ivory Sculptures of Begram', *Mārg*, op. cit., p. 47; 'Ancient Indian Ivories from Begram', *JISOA*, Vol. XVI, p. 35; Joseph Hackin & J.R. Hackin, 'Researches Archeologiques a Begram', *Memoires de la delegation archeologique francaise en Afghanistan*, Vol. IX, 2 vols.
133. Krishnamurthy, K., *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: A Cultural Study*, p. 79.
134. See Naidu, V. Krishnamurthy (Publishers), *Telugus Through Ages*, fig. on p. 48.
135. See Sivaramamurti, C. & Bussagli, Mario, *5000 Years of the Art of India*, fig. 143 on p. 131.
136. Ibid.
137. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., op. cit., pl. XLIV, fig. 167.
138. See Pramodchandra, *The Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Cat. No. 221, pl. LXXIX.
139. Photo seen in the unpublished thesis on Nālandā submitted to the University of Sāgar for Ph.D. degree by Dr. B.N. Misra.
140. See *Ancient India*, No. 9, 1953, p. 155, pl. LXXVd.
141. See Varāha, Nagalapuram (Rao, T.A.G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1 pl. XXXIX.1); Brahmā, Kalugumalai (Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, pl. 93); Kṛshṇa dancing on serpent Kāliya (ibid., pl. 110). Also see a terracotta plaque representing a male dancer wearing this ornament excavated from Pahārpur in Rājshāhī distt. of East Bengal dated *c.* 770-815 A.D. (*Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 155, pl. LXXVd).
142. A goddess in a rock sanctuary, Aihole (Zimmer, op. cit., pl. 123); Bracket female figures in Bādāmī caves (ibid., pls. 128, 130, 131). The lady of a flying couple in the ceiling medallion in cave No. 1, Bādāmī (ibid., pl. 135); Indrāṇī, Ellorā (ibid., pl. 243); Gaja-Lakshmī, Māmallapuram (ibid., pl. 280).
143. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Pt. I & II, Cat. No. 17-1014, Reprint, Varanasi, 1978, p. 72, pl. V.
144. See Aryan, K.C. & Aryan, Subhashini, *Hanumāna in Art & Mythology*, pl. V.
145. Ibid., pl. III.
146. See *East and West*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-2, 1976, p. 206, fig. 3.

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147. Sivaramamurti, C., 'Mirrors of Indian Culture', *MASI*, No. 73, 1955, p. 64.
148. *Virachita kuchabhārā hemavaikakshyakeṇa sphuṭa vivṛtanitambā vāsasārdhorukeṇa Virachita chalayantī kāminām chittameshām kisalayamivalolām chañchalam veśavalyāḥ—Pādatāditakam*, 45 vide above.
149. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, p. xxxi.
150. Ibid.
151. *Urassūtram samālambya stanādashṭāṅgulāntare Yajñopavītavatkāryam skandhayorubhayorapi Pārśvayoschaiva yonyārdhve (chchha)nnavīramidam riduh. —Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. xxxi, fn.
152. Sivaramamurti, C., *Kalugumalai*, Glossary.
153. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, pl. XLIV, fig. 167; Vyas, S.N., *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*, Fig. 38.
154. See Agrawala, V.S., *Gupta Art*, Text figs. 2, 3.
155. See Pramodchandra, op. cit., Cat. No. 221, pl. LXXIX.
156. Sivaramamurti, C., 'Lakṣmī and Her Symbols', *JUPHS*, Vol XIV, p. 22.
157. *ṚV*, I.166.9; I.168.3; V.58.2; VII.56.13.
158. *ṚV*, VIII.97.1 vide Dr. Rai Govind Chandra, *Vaidika Yug Ke Bhāratīya Ābhūshaṇa*, p. 25.
159. *Raghu.*, XVI.73; *Ṛtu.*, IV.3; VI.7; *Megha.*, I.2; *Śāk.*, III. 11; VI.6.
160. *Raghu.*, VI.68; VII.50; XVI. 56; cf. *kāyūra* in *Chullavagga*, V.1.3.
161. *Raghu.*, VI.73; XVI.60; *Ṛtu.*, IV.3; VI.7.
162. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 31; Wheeler, M., *The Indus Civilization*, p. 76.
163. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, pl. XIX. Wheeler, M., *The Indus Civilization*, pl. XVIIB.
164. See Wheeler, op. cit., pl. XVI.
165. Ibid., pl. XIX.
166. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
167. NG, Back, Middle architrave.
168. SG, Front, Middle architrave.
169. NG, EG, Inner face, bottom panels on both pillars; WG, South pillar.
170. SG, Front, Middle architrave; NG, East pillar, Front, Upper panel; NG, West pillar, Front, Lower panel.
171. EG, Front, Lower architrave, left half; EG, Back, Lower architrave, left half; NG, Front, West pillar, Upper panel and Lower panel.
172. Cf. *Rāmā*, V.21.3, *'maṇikāñchana keyūra'*.
173. SG, Front, Lower architrave.
174. SG, Back, West end, Lower false-capital.
175. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar Nos. 2a and 21b.
176. Cf. Davidson, J. Le Roy, 'Begram Ivories and Indian Stones', *Mārg*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, p. 31.
177. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XXI, XXII; Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pls. 34a, 35a.
178. See Joshi, N.P., *Mathura Sculptures*, figs. 5, 6.
179. See Lee, S.E. (ed), *Ancient Sculptures from India*, fig. 38.
180. See Agrawala, R.C., 'Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshi Statues from Besnagar', *Lalit Kalā*, No. 14, pp. 47-49, pl. XIV, fig. 2.
181. See *Mārg*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, fig. 1 against p. 34; Agrawala, R.C., *Human Figurines On Pottery Handles From India And Allied Problems*, fig. 22.
182. A Kubera figure (11′-4″) and a Yakshī (6′-10″) of 1st century B.C. State Museum, Vidiśā, Ex. Nos. 22 and 27.
183. See *JUPHS*, Vol. VI (Jan. 1933), Pt. 1, figs. 3 and 15.
184. See Munshi, K.M., *The Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 4c.
185. See Saraswati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, pl. VIII, fig. 45.
186. See Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pls. 33a, b, c, 34a, 35a and b.
187. See Saraswati, S.K., op. cit., pl. V, fig. 31.
188. See *Indian Archaeology 1968-69 —A Review*, p. 16, pl. XVIII.
189. It is quite probable that originally the waist-band might have been made of thread which is evident from the term *kaṭisuttaka* in *Chullavagga*, V.1.3.
190. *Artha.*, I.21.26.
191. See Rowland Benjamin, *The Art & Architecture of India*, pl. 24.
192. See Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 12b.
193. Ibid, pl. 1; Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, pl. XXXIX.
194. See Munshi, K.M., op. cit., pl. 5a.
195. *ṚV*, X.85.6 (*nyochanī*); X.85.24 (*varuṇapāśa*); V.75.2 (*hiraṇyavartanī*); *Ath. V.*, VI.133.1-5 (*mekhalā*); VII.83.1 (*raśanā*); *Rāmā.*, II.78.7 (*dāma*); V.47.6 (*hemadāma*); III.52.23 (*kāñchī*); *Amara.*, II.6.108 (ed. by Sri Sitaram Shastri) mentions it as *kāñchī, mekhalā, raśanā and kalāpāh*.
196. See Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 15.

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Figures

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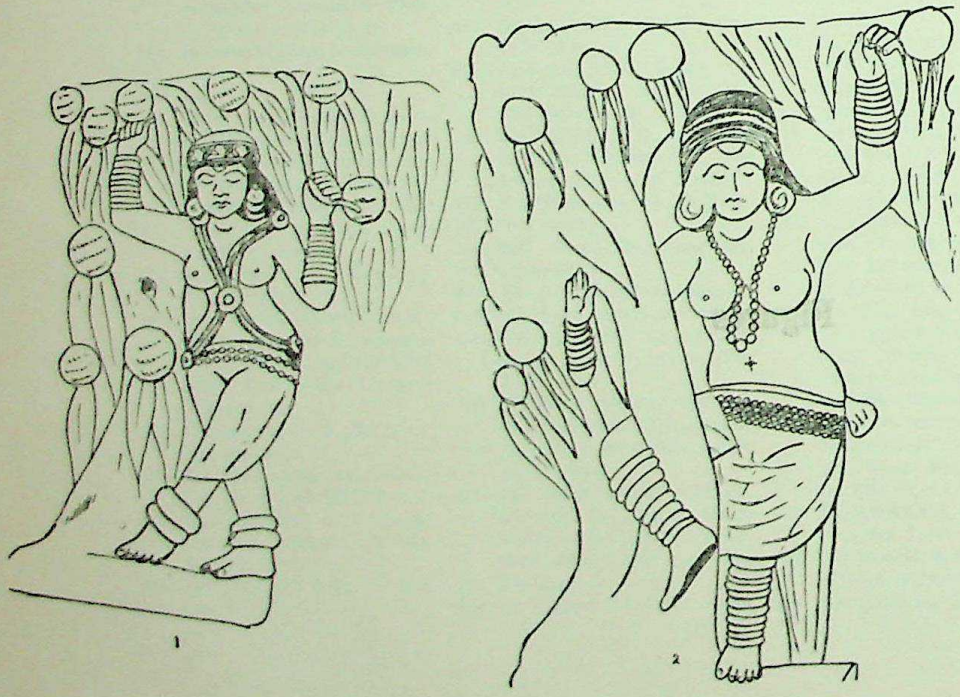

Fig. 1 Śālabhañjikās

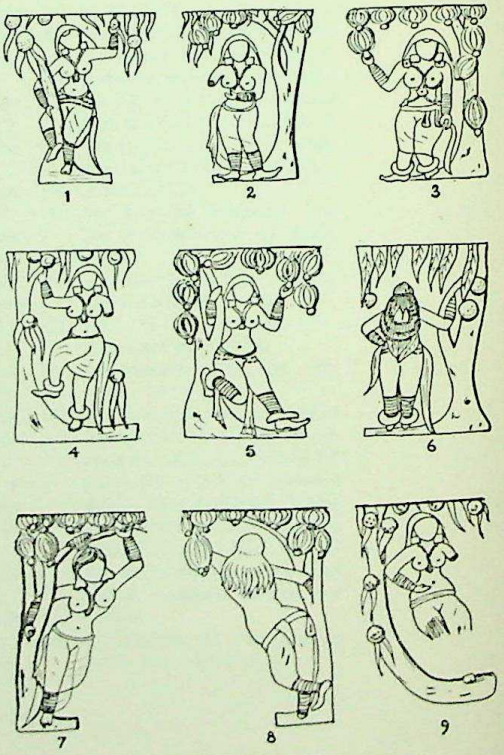

Fig. 2 Śālabhañjikās

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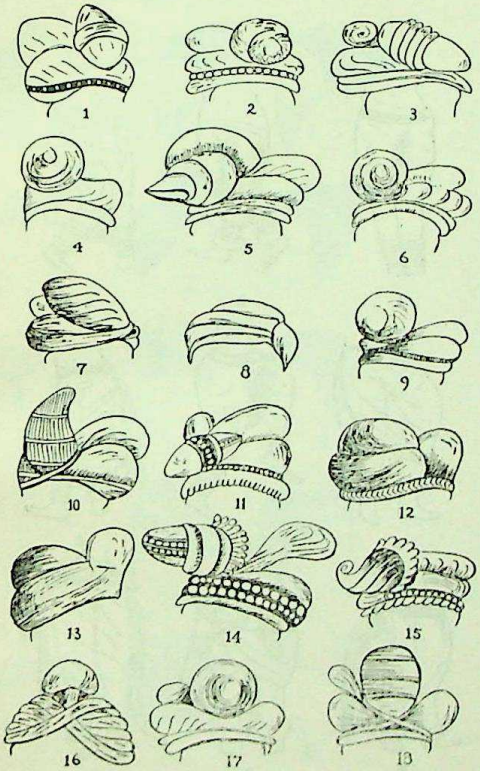

Fig. 3 Turbans

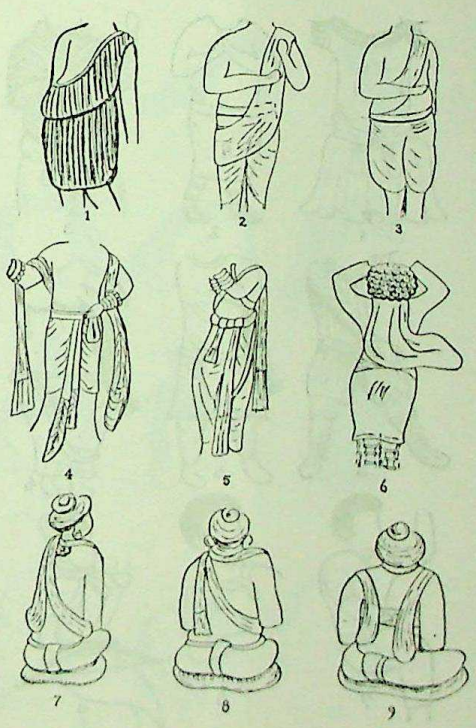

Fig. 4 Upper garments

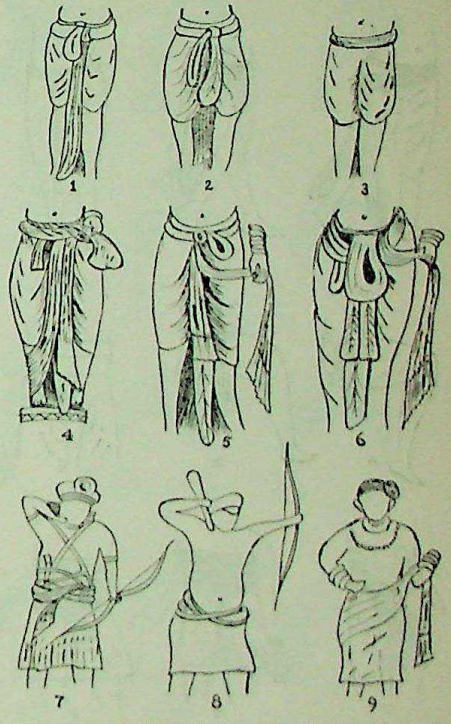

Fig. 5 Lower garments

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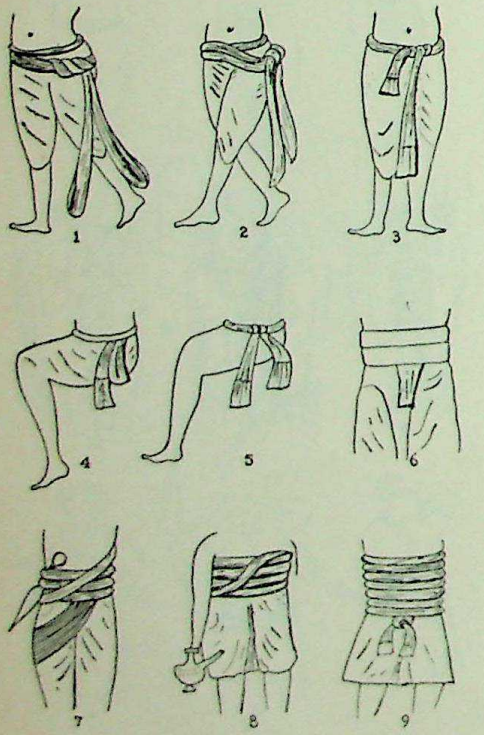

Fig. 6 Waist-bands

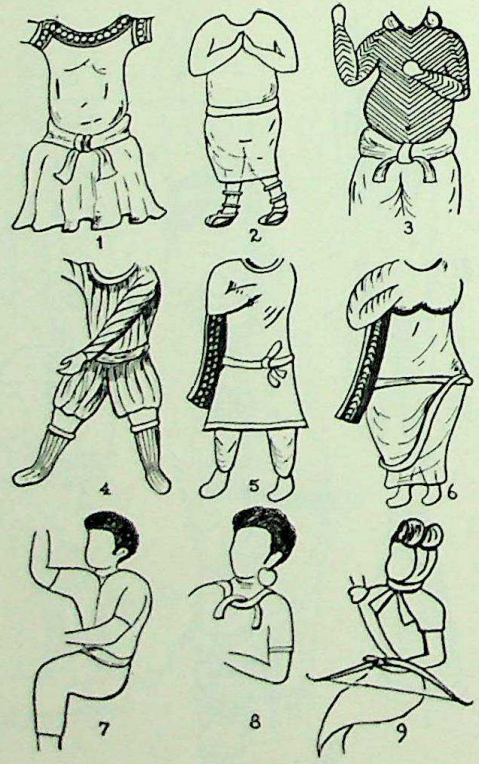

Fig. 7 Sewn garments

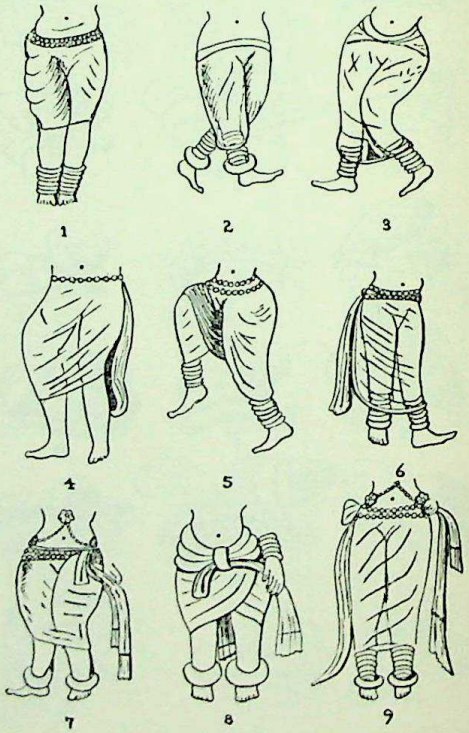

Fig. 8 Sāri

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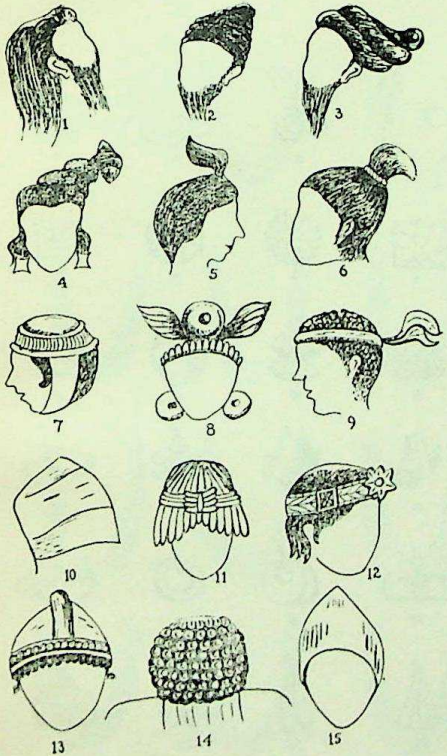

Fig. 9 Hair and Head-dresses (Male)

Fig. 10 Hair and Head-dresses (Female)

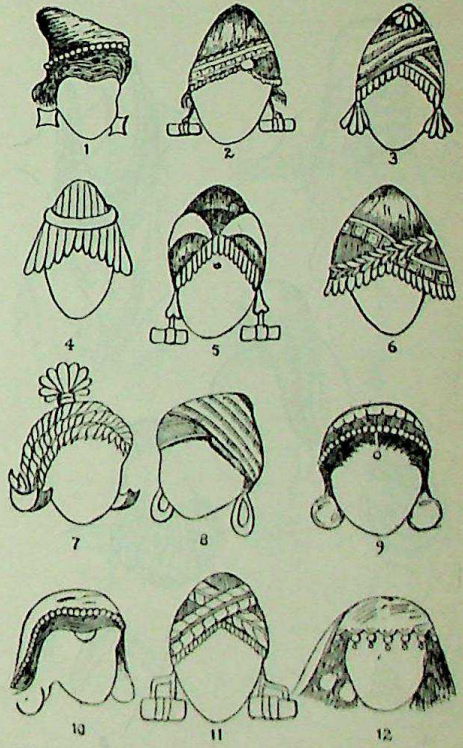

Fig. 11 Hair and Head-dresses (Female)

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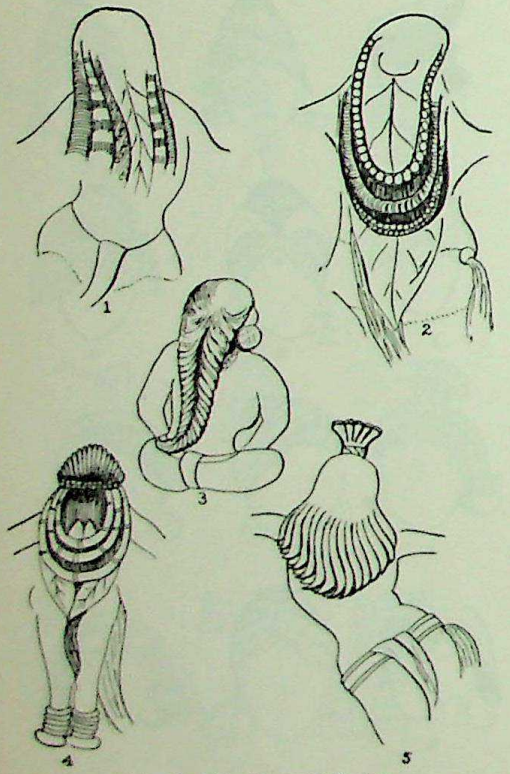

Fig. 12 Hair-dresses, back view

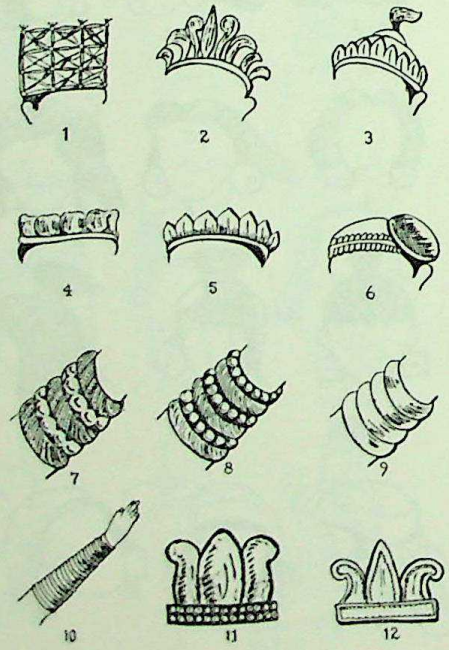

Fig 13 Head and Hand ornaments

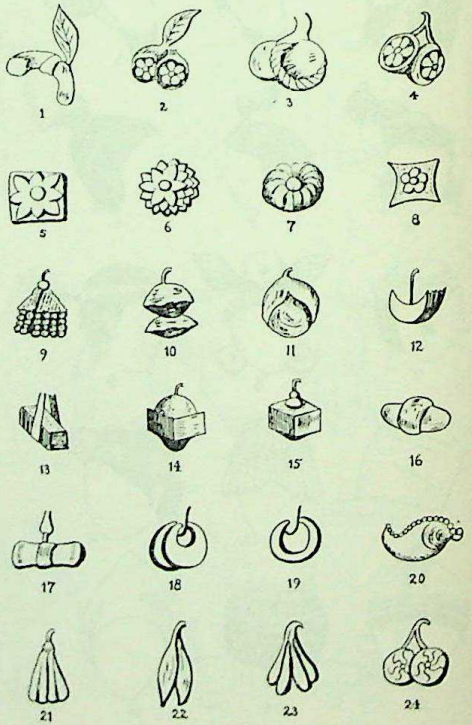

Fig. 14 Ear ornaments

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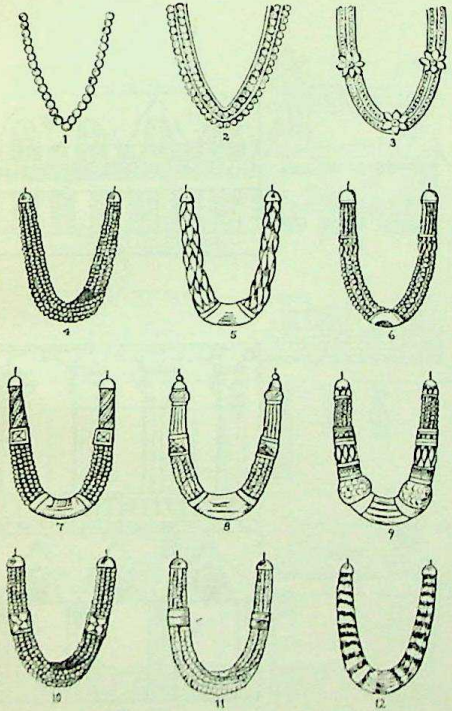

Fig. 15 Necklaces

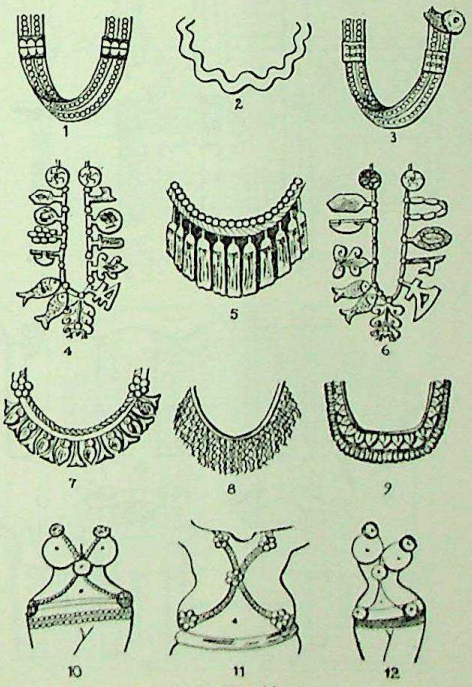

Fig. 16 Necklaces

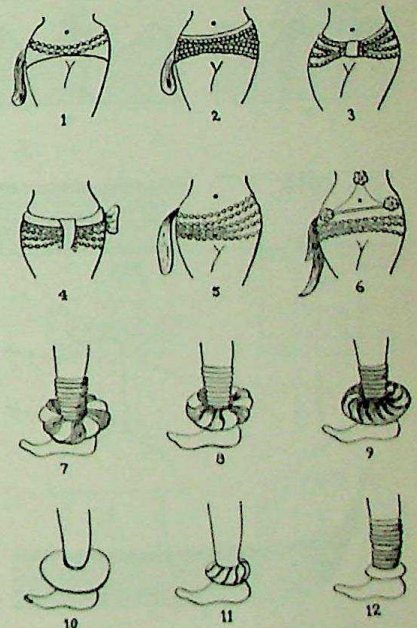

Fig. 17 Waist and Foot-ornaments

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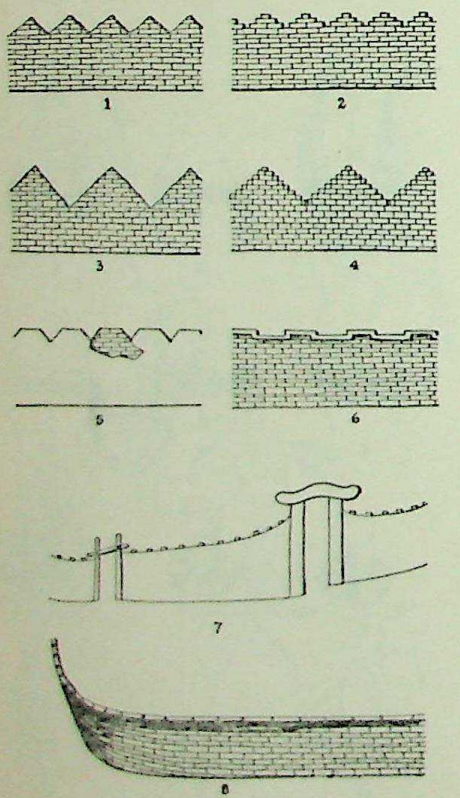

Fig. 18 City-walls

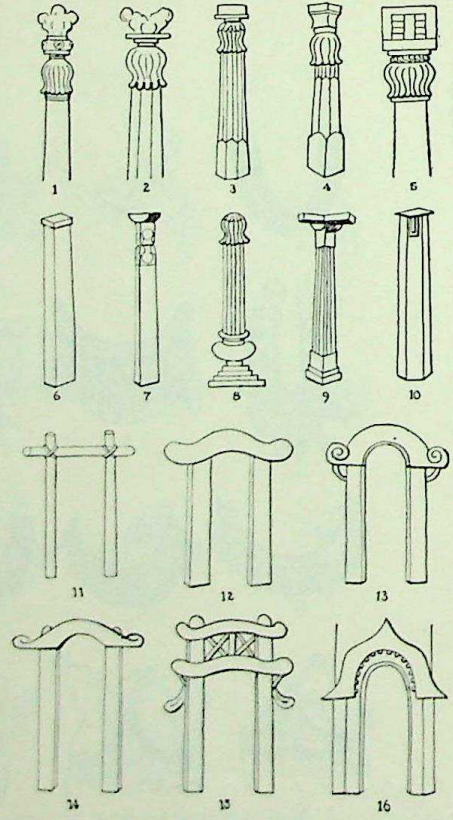

Fig. 19 Pillars and Arches

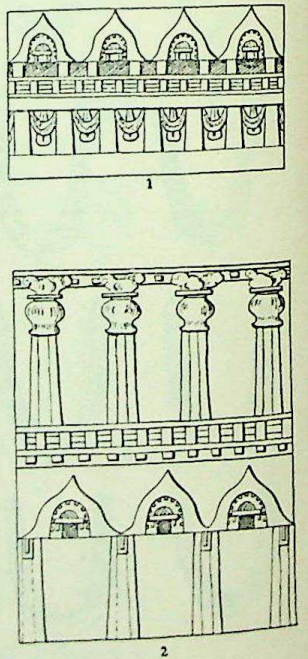

Fig. 20 Palatial Buildings

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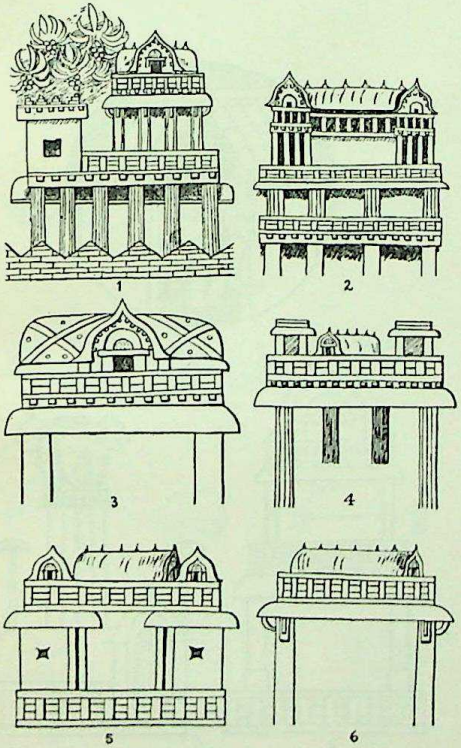

Fig. 21 Palatial Buildings

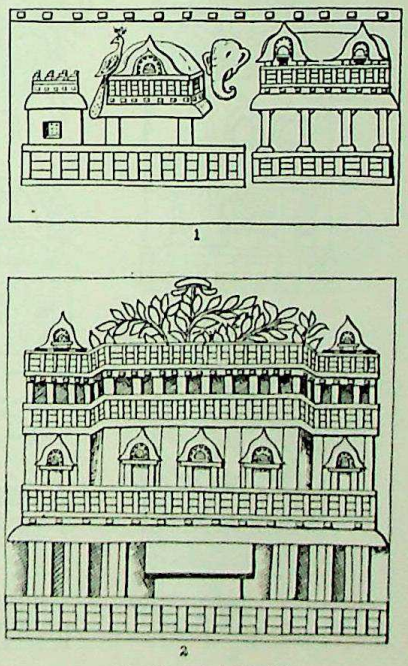

Fig. 22 Palatial Buildings

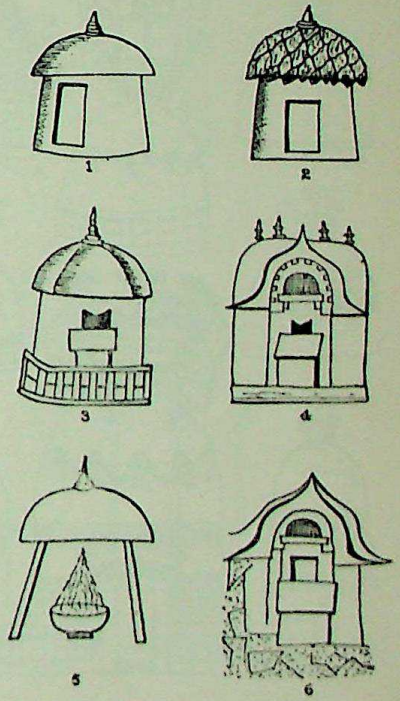

Fig. 23 Huts and Hermitages

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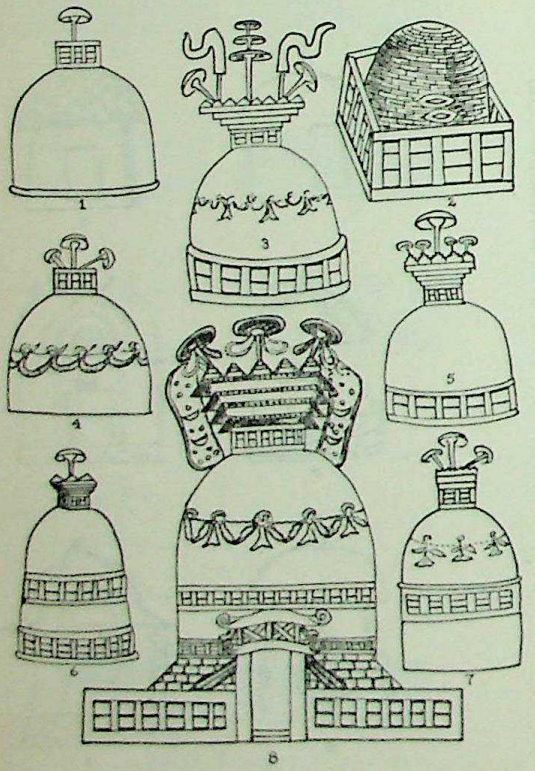

Fig. 24 Stūpas

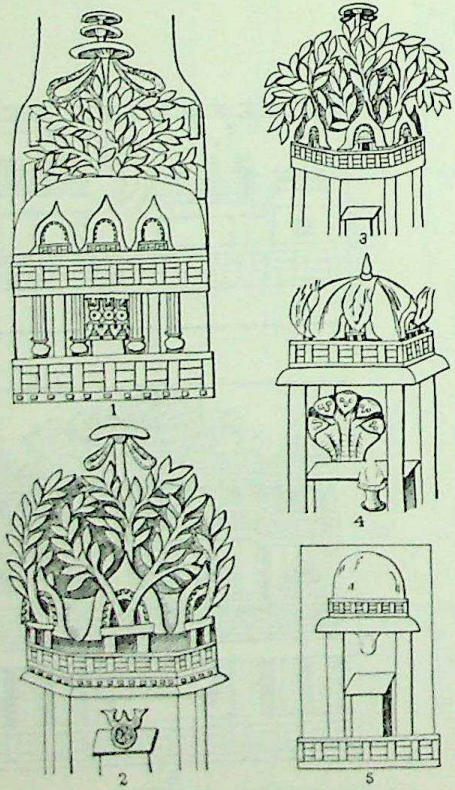

Fig. 25 Bodhi-temples and Other Shrines

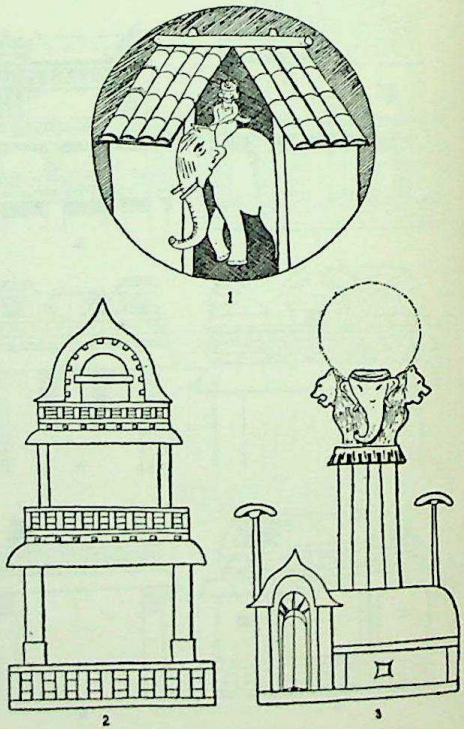

Fig. 26 Elephant-stable and Chaitya-halls

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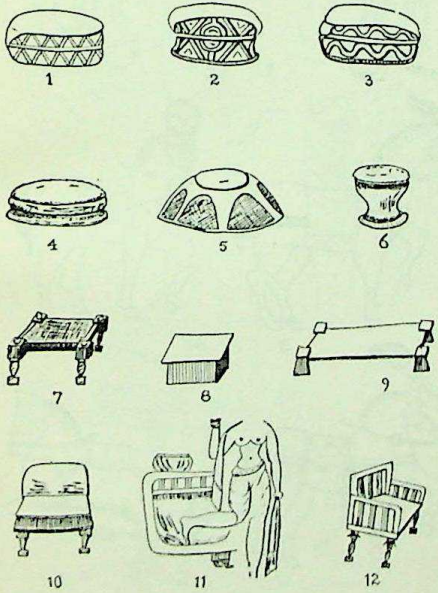

Fig. 27 Furniture

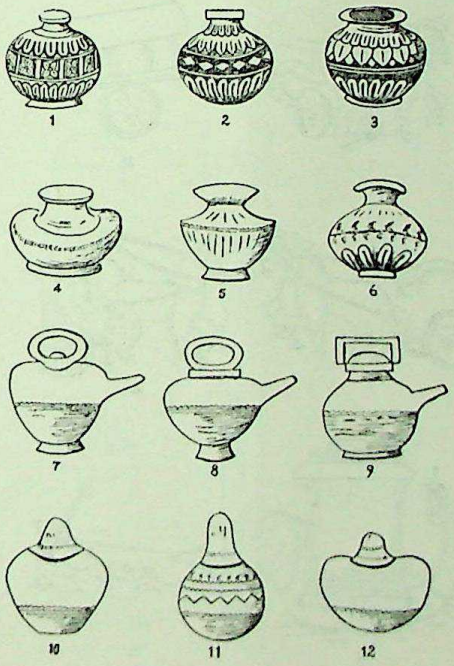

Fig. 28 Jars

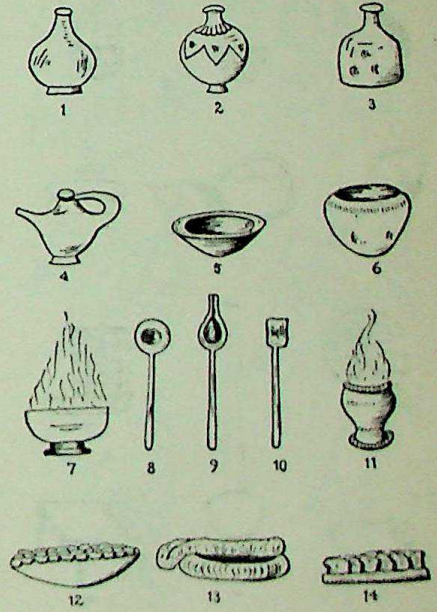

Fig. 29 Utensils, Baskets & Fire-receptacles

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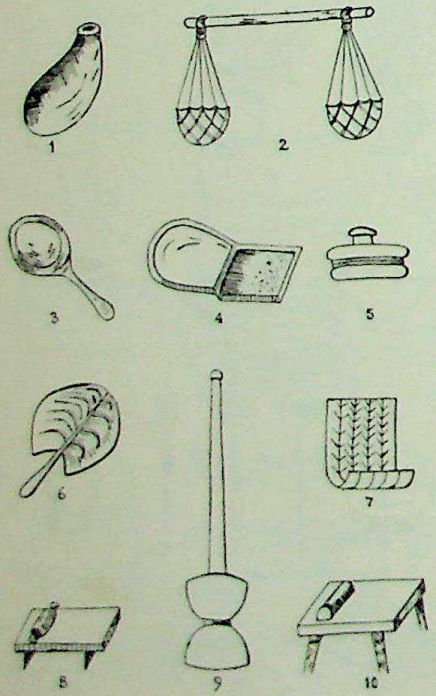

Fig. 30 Household articles

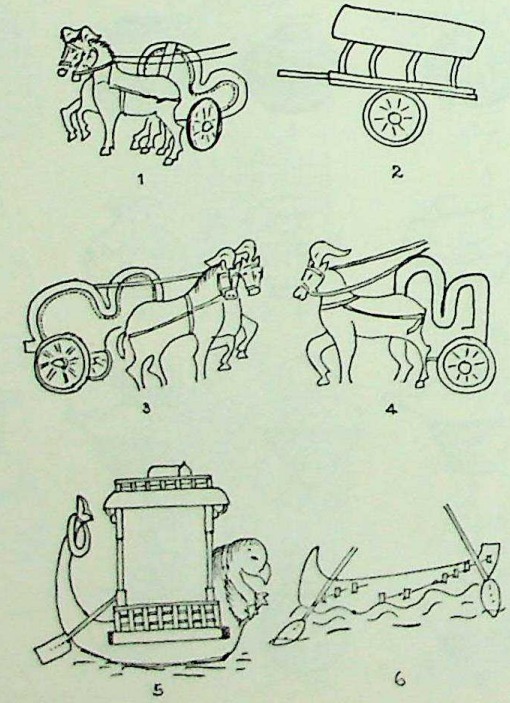

Fig. 31 Vehicles & Boats

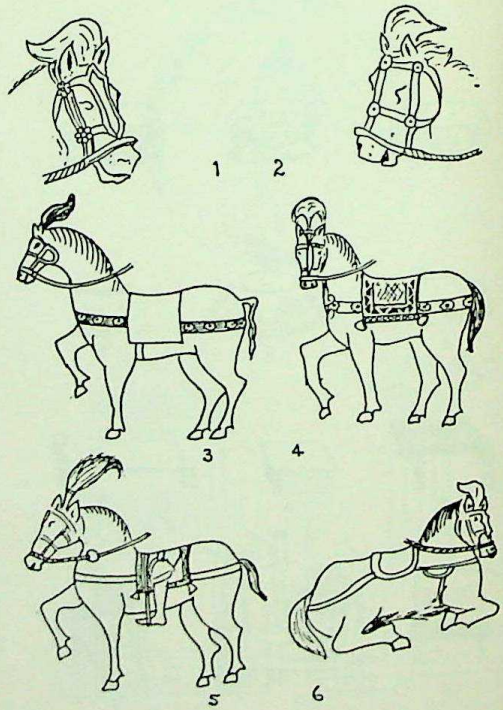

Fig. 32 Horses

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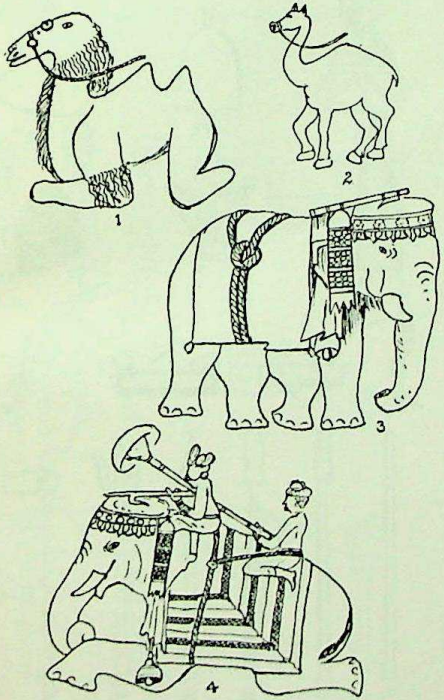

Fig. 33 Camels & Elephants

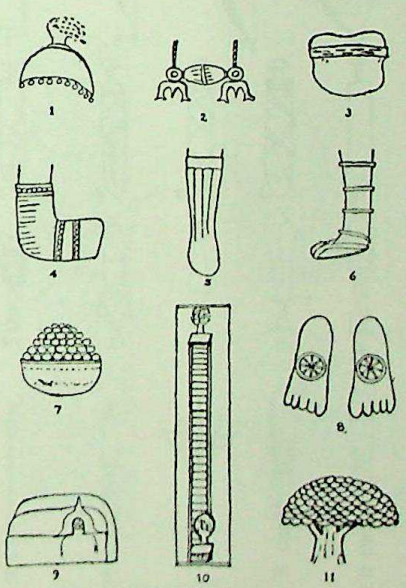

Fig. 34 Miscellaneous

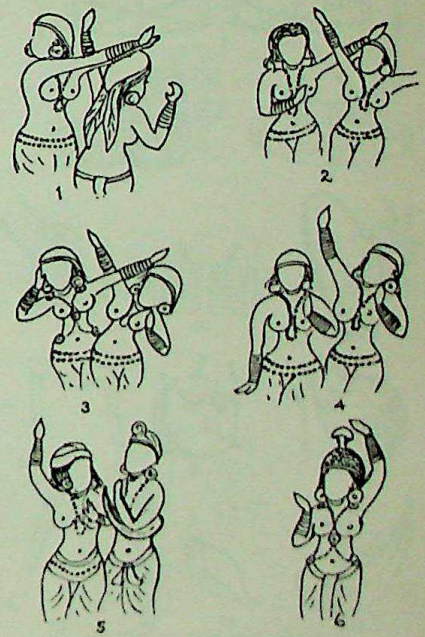

Fig. 35 Dance poses

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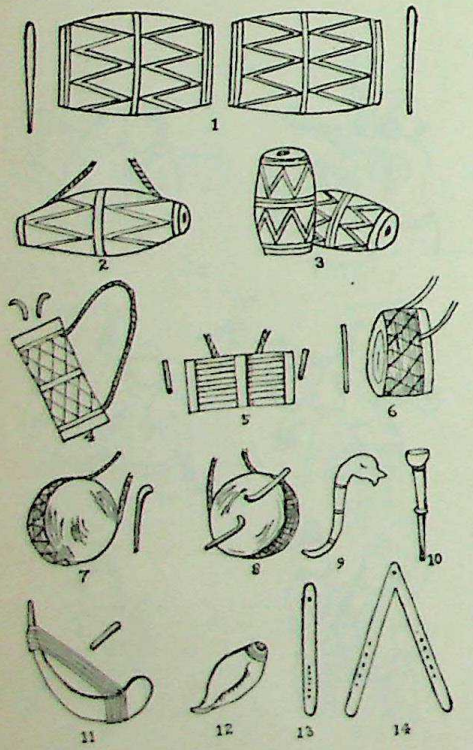

Fig. 36 Musical Instruments

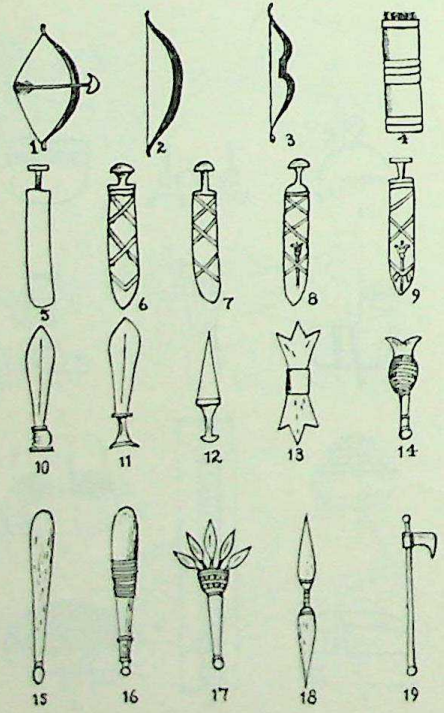

Fig. 37 Arms

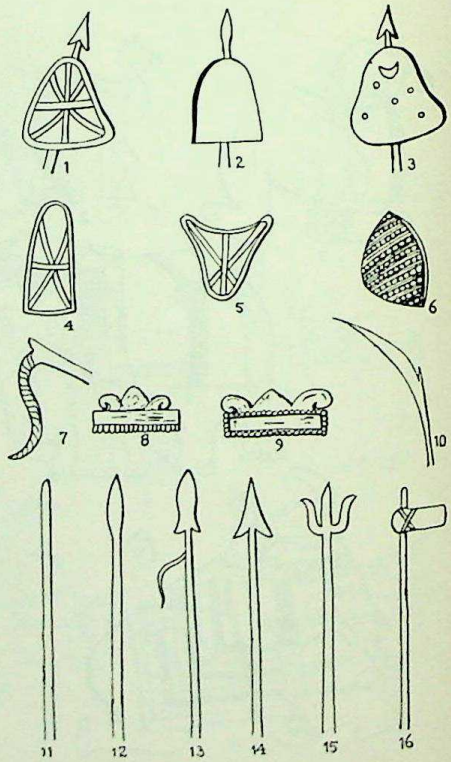

Fig. 38 Arms and Armour

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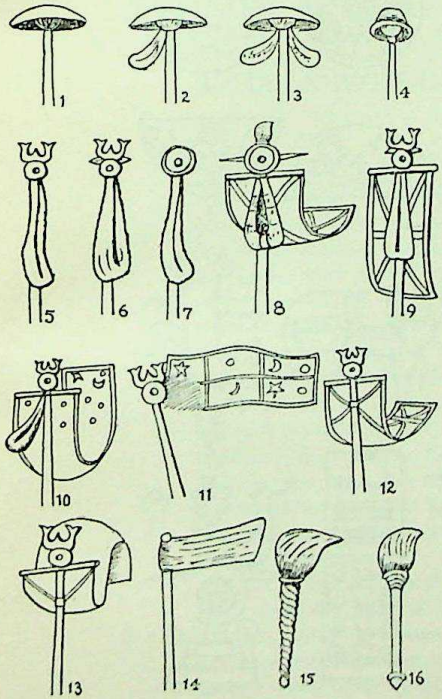

Fig. 39 Royal Insignia

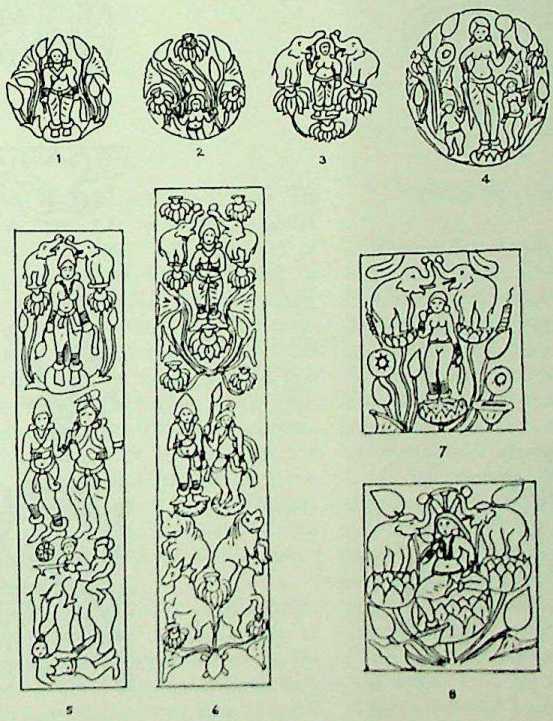

Fig. 40 Śrī-Lakshmī

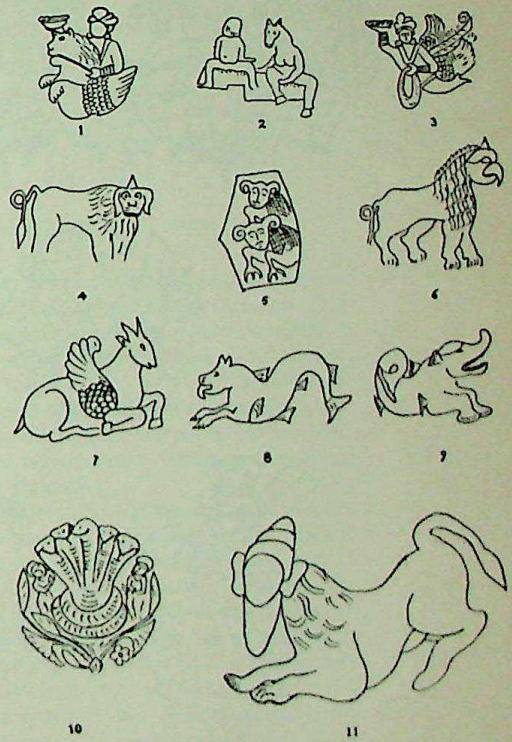

Fig. 41 Īhā-mṛgas: Fantastic Creatures

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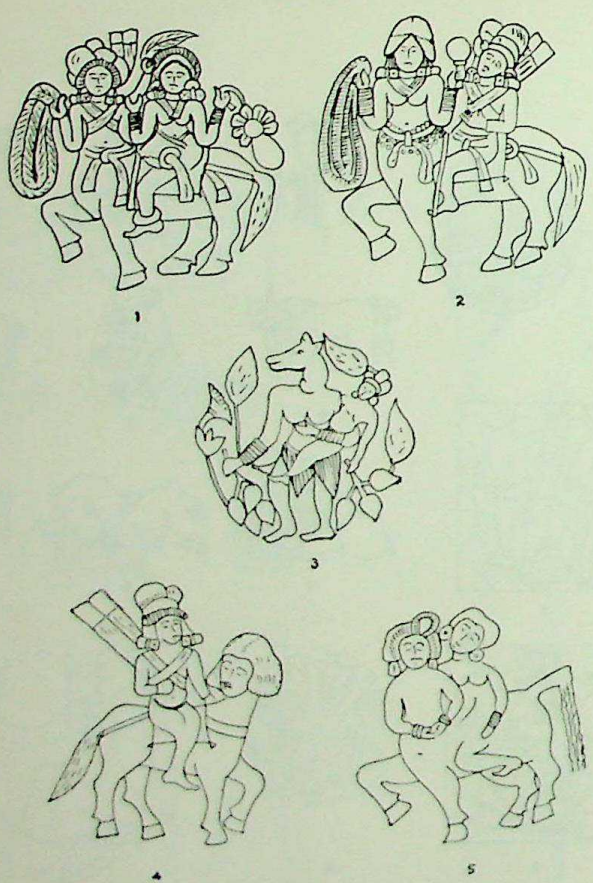

Fig. 42 Ihā-mṛgas: Fantastic Creatures

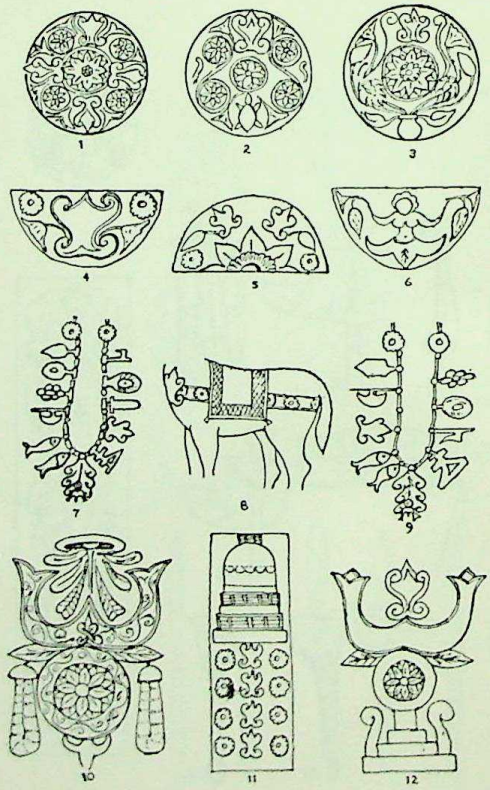

Fig. 43 Srivatsa Symbols

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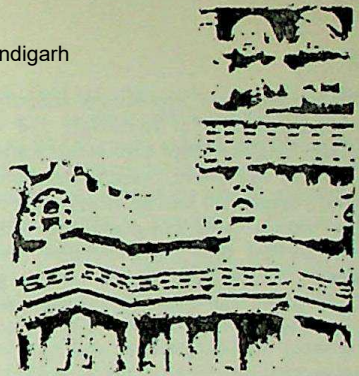

CHAPTER V

SECULAR BUILDINGS

ARCHITECTURAL remains of the prehistoric times are strictly secular, while those relating to the Maurya age and onwards are almost exclusively religious. The discovery of the *stūpas*, *chaityas*, monasteries and other shrines relating to the post-Vedic period only goes to confirm their essentially religious character. Evidence about the history and development of secular architecture in ancient India is neither complete nor uninterrupted. A few buildings, mostly defence and rampart walls, discovered as a result of excavations at Harappan sites and Kauśāmbī shed some light on the ground plans but such evidence by itself does not give us any idea of the superstructures. Again there are wide gaps and missing links. We do not have any remains of the period between Harappan and Mauryan times known generally as the Vedic period. In the absence of such evidence, we have to fall back on literary descriptions.

Lack of archaeological evidence, however, is to some extent made up by the sculptural representations on the stūpas at Bharhut, Sāñchī and Amarāvatī. The representations on the Sāñchī panels, therefore, are of immense value in so far as they cover a whole range of secular and religious buildings. Secular buildings included fortifications (moats, ramparts, towers, city-gates and gate-houses) and dwelling-houses (palaces, huts and hermitages).

TOWN-PLANNING AND FORTIFICATIONS

Though full details about town-planning (*nagara-niyojana*) and fortifications (*durgīkaraṇa*) as revealed in Harappan findings and ancient Indian literature[1] cannot be obtained from the Sāñchī panels, they provide valuable glimpses. In the scenes of historic cities like Kapilavastu,[2] Śrāvastī,[3] Kuśīnagara[4] and Rājagṛha,[5] the presence of outer defence walls, city-gates, gate-houses, multi-storeyed buildings and roads accommodating royal processions and occasionally visitors and civilians on animal-back is easily noticeable.

Various varieties of the fort detailed in the *Ṛgveda* emphasize their long tradition.[6] Kauṭilya illustrates a very methodical system of a fort construction in a separate chapter known as *durga vidhāna prakaraṇa* of his famous treatise, *Arthaśāstra*. He ordains the construction of a series of three moats (*parikhā*),[7] plinth (*vapra*), parapet (*prākāra*) with high towers (*aṭṭālaka*), gateways (*dvāra*) and gate-houses (*pratolī*).[8] Similar information is supplied by the great epics, the *Mahābhārata*[9] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[10] Manu, the contemporary *Smṛtikāra*, prescribes different types of punishment to the destroyer of royal storehouses (*koshṭhāgāra*), magazines ((*āyudhāgāra*), palisade (*prākāra*), moats (*parikhā*) and gates (*dvāra*);[11] and this corroborates the existence of these parts of fortifications in his time,

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Aśvaghosha also appreciates the city of Kapilavastu as a second Girivraja due to its wide and deep moats, clear and straight highways and high mountain-like rampart.[12]

From the above literary description, it is clear that the most conspicuous and necessary parts of a city were the moat, the rampart, gates and gate-houses with their defence towers, and we find their representations in the Sāñchī sculptures where, in different panels on the gateways (*toraṇa*) of the Great Stūpa, the scenes of famous ancient cities have been carved out.

Parikhā (moats)

With a line of lotus flowers and leaves[13] outside the defence wall of a fortified town, the sculptor at Sāñchī has distinctly shown the presence of a moat around the city which is evident in two scenes of 'the war of the relics'[14] as well as in the scenes of the *Viśvantara Jātaka*[15] and *Mahābhinishkramaṇa*[16] (Pls. XIV, XVI). However, one thing is to be noted here that the Sāñchī representation of a single moat around the defence walls of the cities, might be due to the limitation of space, goes against ancient literature wherein a series of three moats is prescribed.

Prākāra (ramparts)

Another important feature of the fortification was an encircling rampart wall. War in ancient times was the first and foremost means of deciding struggles between two states, and hence the protection of public property from enemy invaders necessitated the construction of an outer wall surrounding the city. This boundary wall, known as *prākāra*[17] or *prāchīra*, may be clearly seen surrounding the great cities of ancient India represented on different panels of the Sāñchī bas-reliefs. The ramparts represented on the Sāñchī *toraṇas* generally seem to have been constructed either of large brick[18] or dressed stone[19] and sometimes of mud,[20] which is evident from their smooth surface. Plastering of brick boundary walls was also prevalent in ancient times. This fact has been revealed by the sculptor of the Western Gateway. The boundary wall on the upper architrave finished with battlements is smooth, showing it to be plastered one. One battlement in the middle of this defence wall bears the marks of brick which apparently gives the impression that the plaster of that particular place has been broken out (Fig. 18.5).[21]

A small part of a brick rampart finished with coping and provided with regular and internal turnings is seen on the right side of the city gate of Kuśīnagara in 'the war of the relics' scene (Fig. 18.6; Pl. XV).[22] On the other of wing the gate, there appears a brick boundary wall topped by staircase-like formations. The presence of the fighters behind these parapets apparently indicates the defence positions provided inside the wall. A battlemented brick boundary can also be witnessed in the scenes of *Viśvantara Jātaka*[23] (Pl. XI), 'Prasenjit going to pay a visit to the Lord'[24] (Pl. LXVI), 'Suddhodhana advancing for a visit to the Buddha',[25] in another scene of Kuśīnagara[26] (Pl. XVI) and in some other scenes (Pls. LXV, LXVII). The battlements, surmounting these defence walls, are in some cases rectangular and in others conical in shape (Figs. 18.1, 2, 3, 4).

Ramparts without any battlements were also constructed. A very good example of such an illustration starts from behind the multi-storeyed buildings and terminates in a gorgeous gateway[27] (Fig. 18.8). A plain parapet apparently made of mud or having plaster is seen surrounding the city of Kapilavastu in the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* scene. It is a mud wall apparently reinforced by a wooden palisade similar to that of Pāṭaliputra[28] (Fig. 18.7; Pl. XIV).

Aṭṭālaka (towers)

As prescribed in ancient Indian literature, high towers

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(*aṭṭālaka*) at regular intervals were internally added to the rampart wall. This piece of structure actually arose out of architectural as well as military requirements. These pillar-like rectangular towers supported the rampart wall on the one hand and on the other served as watch-towers providing a position for keeping a watch on the movements of the enemy force outside and for purposes of defence from hidden and protected places. Such defence positions were provided inside the tower with window-like openings on all sides and on the roof protected with large merlons or battlements. Only one such example, which is unique in its representation, is found on the lower architrave of the Southern Gateway depicting the war of the relics (Pl. XV). Apparently, it is rectangular in shape with small rectangular openings without dripstones on the sides. Its roof has a slopy canopy surmounted with large stepped battlements. We are not sure of the defenders inside the tower but those at the roof are shown as shooting arrows and throwing down stones on the assailants. Dhavalikar describes in this scene the rampart wall with stepped battlements as 'a flight of steps for going up the tower'.[29]

He apparently not only neglects the justification of the height between the parapet wall and the roof of the tower, which is too much to climb up by a man, but also omits the prescription of Kauṭilya who ordains to prepare such a ladder (*sopāna*) for the purpose which can be removed.[30]

In ancient terminology, it was called *aṭṭālaka*, *aṭṭāla* or *aṭṭa*,[31] which in fact means an upper accommodation at the top of a high residential building or gate-house. Due to similar sense of height, a tower also seems to have been given the same nomenclature.[32]

Toraṇa (gateways)

The last part of a fortification constitutes a guarded gateway (*dvāra*) with or without a gate-house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*) attached to the rampart wall. The traditional idea of the four gateways, one on each cardinal side, has generally been communicated by different ancient Indian literary sources.[33] But it was not always rigidly followed. There are also a few representations at Sāñchī where more than one gateway has been shown on one side. The scene of the war of the relics on the Southern Gateway contains a besieged city gate of Kuśīnagara. To the right side of the main gate another small one is also depicted (Pl. XV). In the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* scene, two plain and single arched gateways have very clearly been erected into the outer wall of Kapilavastu (Fig. 18.7; Pl. XIV). We find references of such uncommon small gateways in the *Jātakas*.[34] The representation in Sāñchī sculptures may further be corroborated by information supplied by the Greek ambassador Megasthenese who speaks of as many as sixty-four gates in the rampart wall of ancient Pāṭaliputra.[35]

The smaller gateway in the scene of the war of the relics on the Southern Gateway has a unique structure over it. Against the usual representation of a multi-storeyed gate-house, it has a balcony type of open accommodation with a flat roof supported on plain pillars. The roof has an oblique awning and small battlements. This pillared and open accommodation provided over a city-gate had a very strategic position. Armed defenders kept watch on the enemy outside the city and hurled missiles on them from this position. This is quite evident from the above representation of the Sāñchī sculpture.

Though a very late work, Bhoja's *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* mentions three categories of the gateways—*mahādvāra*, the great gateway having a huge, grand and stupendous superstructure generally meant for pomp and show; *vakra-dvāra*, the curved gateway serving normally the usual traffic; and *paksha-dvāra*, side gateway comparatively of a smaller size used only by night.[36] The architectural planning in the time of Bhoja must have had a long tradition behind it. Hence it is not entirely futile to trace some relationship between Bhoja's work and the illustration of the double gateways at Sāñchī stūpas. The smaller gateway noted above may, therefore, be

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taken as a *vakra-dvāra* or *paksha-dvāra.*

Dvāra-koṭṭhaka (gate-houses)

At Sāñchī we have several depictions of the city gate-house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*)[37] generally of a typical shape and size. Normally, a gate-house consisted of three main parts—a closed room having vaulted roof with horse-shoe windows at the top, a pillared accommodation in the middle with a railing in typical Buddhist style and two bastions projecting from the rampart wall on the ground (Pls. XI, XIV, XV, XVI, LXVII). But there are certain exceptions to this ruling. Two city-gates represented on the Northern Gateway contain four storeys—bastions on the ground, two storeys of pillared accommodation and then a closed room at the top (Pls. LXV, LXVI).[38] The bastions were constructed of either brick or mud. Due to their straight and smooth linings, the bastions represented in the Sāñchī sculptures make us believe that they were constructed of brick and then plastered. The bastions have a rectangular window opening in the upper part with or without a dripstone on each outer side. These openings must have served dual purpose, i.e., admitting light as well as providing defence. From these openings, the defenders could have watched the movements of the enemy outside and also shot arrows and other missiles on them. Unfortunately, we do not have in the panels of Sāñchī sculptures any clear representation of the main door, which must have existed between the bastions.

Over these bastions there was usually a pillared and balustered accommodation which must have been serving as an observation post. This pillared middle storey of the gate-house is generally depicted with a sloping cornice for protection against sun and shower. At the top is a closed accommodation with a typical railing of the age and vaulted roofing with a projected and latticed *chaitya*-window. The representation of such a gate-house can be witnessed on all the four gateways of the Great Stūpa.[39]

Pratolī

Regarding the superstructure of these gate-houses, Kauṭilya in his treatise points out that bastions at a distance of thirty *daṇḍas* should be attached to a rampart and in between the two bastions a double-storeyed *pratolī* should be constructed.[40] He further enjoins the construction of a *gopuraṁ*. According to the *Amarakośa*, *pratolī* was a synonym for *rathyā* or a road[41] and *gopuraṁ* was a gateway.[42] But frequent references of *pratolī* in ancient Indian literature and epigraphy do not corroborate the above meaning. These references mark it to be a structural unit.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the city of Laṅkā has been described as 'surrounded by white-washed and high *pratolīs*'.[43] Similarly, when the city of Laṅkā was set on fire, all the *gopuras*, *aṭṭas*, *pratolīs*, *charyās* and *prāsādas* were reduced to ashes.[44] In the *Mahābhārata*, it has been described as a part of the fortification which was very important for the sake of security of the fort. Like other buildings *pratolī* was quite inaccessible and was kept heavily guarded.[45]

Pratolī has also been referred to in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*. At the time of the marriage of Rājyaśrī, Bāṇa describes that white-washing was being done on the palace, *pratolī*, ramparts and battlements with the use of the ladder (*adhirohiṇī samārūḍhaiḥ dhavaiḥ dhavalīkriyamāṇa prāsāda pratolī prākāra śikharaṁ*).[46] From this, it is quite evident that *pratolī* was a building at a height the white-washing of which required the use of a ladder. A reference of *pratolī's* constructiona long with the installation of the image of Kārtikeya is found in the Bilsad Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I. 'It was like a ladder leading to heaven and was used by the sages (*muni*) as their dwelling house.'[47] This also makes *pratolī* to be a high residential building. Its references are also found in the Hānsī Stone Inscription of Prithvīrāja[48] and Kanker Inscription of Bhānudeva.[49] From all these references, *pratolī* appears to have been a sort of building and not a road.

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Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, a treatise on architecture, written by Mahārājādhirāja Bhoja, deals with the construction of *pratolī* in great detail. The construction of the strong *pratolī* over the great gateways of a rampart has been described there. The highway passing through *pratolī* is also mentioned. It has also been laid down as a principle that the great gateways having three-storeyed (*tri-bhaumika*) *pratolīs* over them should be constructed on all sides of the city for its defence, beauty and prosperity.[50] Scholars have taken the term *pratolī* as the original word for *paurī*, i.e., the outer gate-house.[51] *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇī*, a later work, very clearly describes *gopura*, *pratolī* and *rathyā* as synonyms.[52] Similarly, Shukla takes both *pratolī* and *gopura* as synonyms for a gate-house. According to him *pratolī mahādvāra* and *gopura mahādvāra* were the two architectural styles of superstructure of a gateway, one representing the Northern and the other the Southern India.[53] The *gopura* style is still in vogue in the temple gateways of Southern India. Shukla's suggestion appears to be correct since we find the *gopuras* described in a Jain text *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* (IV), having three storeys.[54] We, therefore, have no doubt that the gate-houses depicted in the bas-reliefs are the ancient *pratolīs* referred to in literature. Sāñchī art in this context has an importance of its own for preserving a lost tradition of ancient Indian architecture, of which only literary descriptions are now available to us.[55]

Toraṇa (arches)

Sometimes the gateways attached to a surrounding city-wall were also decorated with separate arches (*toraṇa*) in front.[56] Gateways decorated with a single curved architrave of volute ends, have been represented in the Sāñchī sculptures[57] (Pls. XIII, LVIII).

Around a city and city gate-house, we find a plain apparently plastered outer wall intersected with two openings, one quite in front of the city gate-house and the other to the left in front of the moat (Pl. XIV). The one before the gate-house is decorated with a gateway (*toraṇa*) of single curved architrave with volute ends, supported on two pillars. Anothe ropening has been decorated with a very ordinary gateway apparently constructed of bamboo or wooden poles attached and fastened to each other at the joints (Figs. 18.7; 19.11, 12).[58] It provides us with a clear clue to a theory that the subsequent stone architecture of a gateway was copied out of the previous wooden one. From this solitary instance, it is evident that the transition was still in the offing during the period of the Sāñchī gateways.

RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

As regards secular dwelling-houses these have been variously represented in the Sāñchī sculptures. Multi-storeyed and palatial buildings for the royal and the rich and ordinary dwelling huts for common people find due representation. From Sāñchī bas-reliefs, it is very clear that the dwelling houses were of one stereotyped pattern consisting of a long room with a pointed or semi-cylindrical domed roof and a small opening for air and light on each side. One thing is to be noted here that Sāñchī bas-reliefs give us an idea of only outer forms and figures of the buildings. Nowhere are the interior arrangements represented. But this outer superstructure helps us in understanding the inner accommodation to a large extent when we take it along with the ground plans already excavated at different ancient sites.

Prāsāda (palaces)

Representation of royal residences is mostly to be found together with the city gate-houses already discussed. We usually find pillared and railed balconies consisting of the upper storeys of the palaces peeping behind the fortified city-gates. Generally the ground floor is not visible. In the scene of the war of the relics on the Southern Gateway we may easily see

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in the background between the main gate and the side gateway, the railed and pillared balconies and horse-shoe windows full of women, curiously leaning and peeping towards the fighting soldiers. One vaulted roof with conical pinnacles is clearly noticeable (Pl. XV).

In another war scene on the Western Gateway, there is a verandah behind the outer brick-boundary, in which one man and two women are standing. Above this verandah there stands a railed and open balcony type accommodation flanked with small rooms. These small rooms have at their top the typical *chaitya* windows.[59] Another large window of the same design has been attached in the centre of the above storey. It also has a railing in front of it (Pl. XVI).

A very clear representation of a palace may be quoted from a scene depicting Śrāvastī, the capital city of Kosala.[60] King Prasenjit is seen on horseback coming out of the city-gate to pay a visit to the Lord in the Jetavana. To the right of the gate, there appear the high brick battlements behind which stands the pillared ground floor. At the left corner of its first floor, there is a room of plastered wall with a small square window towards the front. The room also has a cornice supported on the battons at its roof, and is finally battled with large merlons. Leaving the portion of the room, there runs the typical fencing in front. On the right side, there is a pillared portico. These pillars also appear to be octagonal and bracketed at the top. The third storey on the portico consists of the railing and a room with an arched opening in front and a vaulted roof with small pinnacles (Fig. 21.1; Pl. LXVI).

Another multi-storeyed palatial building may be seen in a panel depicting a township, identified with Rājagṛha by Marshall.[61] It is the only depiction where we find the defence wall upto some distance from the main city-gate. King Bimbisāra along with his royal retinue is seen coming out of the city-gate to pay a visit to the Buddha. Within the brick-boundary wall, a very clear example of a multi-storeyed residence has been carved out by the artist. The ground floor is a pillared hall. The first floor is also a pillared balcony having the typical railing. This balcony has on it a sloping awning. The second floor has two pillared porticoes one on either side with an open space in between. Still above, we find within the typical berm railing two *chaitya* doorways just above the porticoes and between them appears a vaulted and pinnacled roof indicating the presence of a closed room at the top (Fig. 21.2).[62]

In the scene depicting the dream of Māyādevī,[63] one is quite sure of the royal residence of King Suddhodhana at Kapilavastu. Only the upper storeys of the palace are seen here. It is divided by separate berm railings into two parts, one at the right side is a pillared balcony. Its pillars are secured with bases at the bottom and brackets at the top. The balcony has a plain covering over it. Above, within a railing there is closed or enclosed accommodation having vaulted roof and two *chaitya* windows, one on each side. Another part at the left consists of a pillared portico with a similar top storey over it. Māyādevī is seen sleeping under this portico. A peacock is sitting over the railing on the portico and an elephant's head is seen in the space, indicating the dream of Māyā. To the extreme left, there is a small room. This plastered room has also been provided with a similar awning supported by brackets attached to the wall. There is a small square and latticed window on the front side of the room. Above the awning, there is a parapet having side battons and long conical battlements (Fig. 22.1).

The city of Kapilavastu is again seen on the middle architrave of the same gateway where the story of the Great Renunciation (*mahābhiniṣhkramaṇa*) has been represented. Inside the defence wall, multi-storeyed buildings with people are to be seen clearly (Pl. XIV).

These palatial buildings of the Sāñchī sculptures may be identified with *prāsādas* and *harmyas*. In ancient times a *prāsāda* was a multi-storeyed building.[64] In comparison to an ordinary dwelling-house a *prāsāda* was a multi-storeyed

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building in which people normally lived on the upper storeys. It is quite evident from a reference in the *Mahābhāshya* wherein people living in an ordinary house are called *bhūmīvāsī* whereas those of the palace are termed as *prāsādavāsī*. Another reference makes it quite clear wherein the *mantras* for inaugural ceremony of a new house (*gṛhapraveśa*) are called '*gehānupraveśanīya*' whereas those for a palace are called '*prāsāda-ārohaṇīya*'. The term *ārohaṇa* 'climbing up', is itself explanatory denoting a palace to be a multi-storeyed building.[65]

Harmya was a beautiful palace.[66] Buddhaghosa, in his notes on *Chullavagga*, I.1, explains *pāsāda* as a long storeyed mansion and *hammiya*, a *pāsāda* having an upper chamber on the topmost storey.[67] Identification of these buildings with *prāsādas* is analogous to the three-storeyed *Vaijayanta prāsāda* of Bharhut. As regards *harmya*, it was probably the upper storey of the palace which is alluded to in the *Arthaśāstra*.[68] The attic rooms[69] with *chaitya* or plain square windows and vaulted roof represented in Sāñchī art may be identified with the *harmyas*.

Stambhas (pillars)

From the above examples of palaces and grand buildings in Sāñchī sculptures, we may easily deduce that pillars had an important place in ancient architecture. From Sāñchī bas-reliefs, it is also evident that during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana times pillars of different shapes and sizes were erected. These were rectangular, hexagonal or octagonal,[70] slightly tapering towards the top in some cases and in others secured by bases at the bottom and by brackets at the top, or both (Figs. 19.1-10; Pls. LXIII, LXIV). Sāñchī pillars display a traditional affinity with those excavated at the site of the Mauryan palace at Pāṭaliputra. Their popularity and the frequency with which they appear in Sāñchī art corroborate the description of the thousand-pillared palaces in the *Ṛgveda*.[71]

Multi-storey Fashion

Another important feature of Sāñchī buildings is their multi-storey structure. No doubt it is a very old fashion which was present even in prehistoric times. The excavation of some staircases in the courtyards points to the presence of multi-storeyed buildings at Harappā and Mohen-jo-daro.[72]

This fashion of architecture was not confined to secular residences but was also frequently adopted in religious buildings like stūpas, *Bodhigharas* (Fig. 22.2; Pl. XVIII) and other shrines. In these multi-storeyed buildings, the upper storeys were generally provided with a pillared verandah. In front of these verandahs generally there was an open balcony protected by the usual railing. These verandahs and balconies served as important parts of royal palaces and other grand buildings which are represented in Sāñchī sculptures.

Sopāna (stairways)

We find a rare representation of single staircase or ladder (*sopāna*) in the scene illustrating the Buddha's descent on earth from heaven at Sāṅkāśya (Fig. 34.10; Pl. LIX). But it has no connection with any of the buildings. Although the representation of the staircases in any of the palatial buildings in Sāñchī sculptures is not available, its presence in multi-storeyed buildings cannot be ruled out.[73] However, double staircases provided at the Great Stūpa and Stūpa No. 3 on their southern side are quite sufficient to confirm the view. The antiquity of the staircase goes as far back as that of the multi-storey fashion of architecture. Traces of some staircases were found in Harappan buildings.[74]

Similarly, as in modern architecture these staircases in ancient times were protected by the side-railings called *sopāna-vedikā*, which is quite evident from the stair-railings of the Great Stūpa and Stūpa No. 3 at Sāñchī.

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Vedikā (railings)

The next remarkable feature of the palatial buildings in Sāñchī sculptures is the typical railing. Generally, it is termed as a Buddhist railing. But it is a misnomer, because it was not confined to Buddhist edifices alone. It was rather invariably used in all religious and secular buildings of the time. In Sāñchī sculptures, too, it has been represented and serves architectural as well as ornamental purposes. Different storeys of a building are clearly separated with this railing. Sometimes even the panels of a pillar have been marked distinct with the design of this railing. Hence it is very clear that this type of railing was a popular and common fashion of the age and therefore it must not be called a Buddhist railing.

This railing (*vedikā*) was constructed of plinth (*ālambana*), pillars (*stambhas*), cross-bars (*sūchīs*) and copings (*ushṇīsha*). Between the two pillars, three cross-bars were socketed horizontally. It is a fact that the design of this railing in every storey of the buildings depicted on the Sāñchī *toraṇas*, has directly been adapted from the ground railing of the Great Stūpa, erected some time during the Śuṅga period. Sometimes the railing pillars were decorated with various designs in the form of medallions and half medallions, as we find on the *medhi* of the Great Stūpa and around Stūpa No. 2.[75]

Kapāṭa (doors and doorways)

No clear representation of doors (*kapāṭa*) has been found in any of the panels depicting residential buildings in Sāñchī sculptures. The fact that clearly identifiable representations of doors are not noticeable must not lead us to believe that there were no doors in use in actual life in those times, specially when we find evidence of doors represented in the contemporary art of Bharhut.[76]

The doorway openings in Sāñchī art are generally rectangular. In some specimens, small and latticed ventilators have been constructed just above the doorways. Further, these doorways have been sometimes provided with a shade in the shape of a *chaitya* arch, probably in order to shelter it from sun and shower. The best example of such a doorway is to be found in the scene depicting a rock-cut cave-dwelling of the Lord Buddha[77] (Fig. 23.6). Gandha and Kosamba *kuṭīs* of Jetavana also have the similar shades[78] (Fig. 23.4, Pl. XXXII).

Rectangular door-openings with grilled ventilators and shaded in arch-design may be seen in almost every residential[79] and religious[80] building (Figs. 20.2; 21.1, 3; 22.1, 2). Huts were also provided with rectangular openings with or without an arch projection over them (Figs. 23.1, 2, 6).

In all the above examples, the doorway is an opening quite rectangular in shape. Arched airways or shades above are always provided separately. But a rare example of an arched opening of a doorway appears on a corner pillar (No. 22a) of the ground balustrade of Stūpa No. 2 (Fig. 19.16; Pl. XXVII). This fashion of a doorway opening was already in vogue since the origin of rock-cut caves in Mauryan times.[81] It has been incorporated in other contemporary sculptures like those at Bharhut,[82] Bodhagayā[83] and Bhājā.[84]

Vātāyana (windows and ventilators)

In these palaces and grand buildings reproduced in Sāñchī art, the topmost storeys were generally provided with one or more projected windows. These gable windows consisted of an opening with a latticed half-circle over it. This circle had over it a round and conical projection, better known as horse-shoe or *chaitya* projection.[85] The projection was apparently supported on wooden or brick battons springing out of the wall (Figs. 21.3; 22.2). But in the attic rooms at the house-tops, the windows of different designs were attached. It was generally a small square frame which was latticed in most cases. Such specimens of windows can be witnessed in the scenes depicting the 'Dream of Māyā'[86] and 'Prasenjit going

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to pay a visit to the Lord'[87] (Figs. 21.1; 22.1). Another design of an open window has also been found in the panels depicting 'the Six Inferior Heavens'[88] and 'the Abode of Māra'[89] (Fig. 21.5).

Windows in architecture are always provided for the purpose of fresh air and light, and as such it has aptly been called by Kālidāsa the *vātāyana*[90] or *vātapāna* and *ālokamārga*.[91] Besides, it also served to allow a peep outside and in this context it is aptly named as *gavāksha* (passage of sight).[92] But to me it appears that as in modern architecture, two types of wall-openings, windows and ventilators, were constructed in ancient Indian buildings also—the windows on the side walls and the ventilators on the upper portion of the wall just over the doorways or windows. This is confirmed by Kauṭilya, who suggests the construction of a window with doors (*āṇi dvāra*) on the street side to be opened or closed as and when required, and ventilators (*vātāyana*) to allow light, at a higher level.[93]

Chullavagga[94] refers to three categories of windows—*vedikā vātapāna*, window with a rail pattern grille; *jāla vātapāna*,[95] one with a trellis or lattice; and *śalākā vātapāna*, one provided with upright-turned bars. Specimens of Sāñchī windows having a lattice, executed on the *toraṇa* pillars of the Northern and Eastern Gateways, may be identified with the *jāla vātapāna*. Completely open windows, represented on a pillar of the Eastern Gateway and also on the pilasters of the city-gate-houses, already discussed above may be called *uddhāṭana kiṭika* in the same text. The popular *chaitya* window of Sāñchī sculptures, due to its gable shape, may be identified with *chandra-śālā vātāyana*.

Roofings

We have seen in different panels depicting the contemporary architecture that in most cases the topmost storey is finished with a vaulted roofing (Figs. 21.1-6; 22.1; 23.4).[96] In a very few cases, the attic rooms at the top storey have a flat and battlement roofing[97] (Fig. 21.1). Ordinary huts and hermitages have domical thatching over them[98] (Figs. 23.1, 2; Pl. XII). Besides flat, domical and vaulted roofing, another form of covering made of tiles is also met with in Sāñchī reliefs[99] (Flg. 26.1). Thus a close examination of Sāñchī sculptures goes to show that different forms of roofing were prevalent in the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period in India.

Pramada-vana (pleasure-gardens)

That palaces were also provided with pleasure-gardens is evident from Sāñchī art. In a scene, the king and the queen are seen enjoying *jala-krīḍā* in their pleasure-garden.[100] In another scene, a king seated in an armchair and his queen on a wicker-stool (*moḍhā*) in front are seen along with three maid-servants, the *chaurī*, umbrella and pitcher-bearers[101] (Pl. LII). The queen is taking some drink from a cup. The presence of some trees makes it a pleasure-garden (*pramada-vana*).[102] To the left, a three-storeyed portion of the palace is visible (Fig. 26.2). Apparently the king is relaxing with his queen in his royal garden.[103]

Gaja-śālā (elephant-stable)

The representation of unique building in Sāñchī art is worth mentioning here. In a roundel of a rail-pillar[104] a building with its conical high doorway has been carved out. It has a tiled roofing supported on pillars. On both sides, the tiled frames have been put in a slanting position to meet at the top, leaving a high and triangular opening. An elephant along with a rider is shown coming out of this building. This marks it out as an elephant-stable (Fig. 26.1; Pl. LXXXII). The height of the above tiled building of Sāñchī seems to be in accordance with the prescription of Kauṭilya, who suggests that an elephant-stable (*hasti-śālā*) should be constructed of double the height of the highest elephant.[105] Besides its refe-

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rence in the *Arthaśāstra*, elephant-stables have frequently been referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[106] and *Jātakas*.[107] Bhāsa also mentions a *hasti-śālā*.[108]

An example of elephant-stable, constructed in the sixteenth century A.D. in the capital of the famous Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagara in the south, is still found among the ruins. The building, known as *gaja śālā*, accommodates a museum at present.[109] This confirms the continuity of building the elephant-stables in the country for a considerable period of about two thousand years. The representation of an elephant-stable in Sāñchī art presupposes the existence of stables also for other animals.[110] This lone example of a tiled building is a unique representation in whole of the Sāñchī sculpture.[111]

Though the representation of elephant-stable in Sāñchī bas-relief has no connection with a royal palace, we are well aware of the fact that in ancient times horse and elephant-stables were the most important parts of the royal palaces.

Kuṭī (huts)

In the representation of the historic cities of ancient India like Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Kuśīnagara, Sāṅkāśya and Kapilavastu, we get a fair idea of the architecture of palatial buildings as also of their outer walls and gateways. Depictions of the countryside, however, are not frequent in Sāñchī sculpture. Nevertheless, certain stray representations help us in forming an idea of the appearance of ordinary dwellings, huts and hermitages.

In a representation of the village Uruvilvā, situated on the bank of the river Nairañjanā, we find its gate quite similar to those of the great cities, already discussed above.[112] Behind this gate we see ordinary houses belonging to common people. At the left corner, two round and small huts are shown, both with an open doorway in front and a round domical roofing with many pinnacles above. Another similar hut, except for the fact that there is only one pinnacle at the roof, is visible on the right corner of the same panel with a woman and cattle standing in front of it (Fig. 23.1). A similar representation of the hut is also found on a lower lintel of the Northern Gateway.[113]

A residence of round shape with a usual roofing and window in front represented in another scene of the village Uruvilvā[114] appears to be a middle-class dwelling, distinctly better than the huts of the previous scene (Fig. 34.9; Pl. LVIII).

Apparently, these huts were made of mud-walls and had a thatched roofing. With reference to thatched houses, the *Atharvaveda* mentions two types of thatching material, one the *tṛṇa*, the grass of *muñja*, *śara*, *kuśa*, *kāsa*, etc., and the other the *palada*, the straw of rice, wheat or barley.[115] Pāṇini also refers to the peasant's cottage (*kuṭīra*)[116] covered with a roofing of reed and straw (*chhādisheya tṛṇa*).[117]

Parṇa-kuṭī (hermitages)

Whenever these dwellings were occupied by ascetics, they were called *parṇa kuṭī*,[118] *parṇa śālā*[119] (houses thatched with leaves) and *utaja*.[120] Two small *kuṭīs* of ascetics are executed in a jungle scene.[121] Other representations of the *parṇa śālās* may be cited from the panels on the Eastern[122] and Western Gateways.[123] Sāñchī specimens of these ascetic abodes are single-room residences. These are circular walled with a rectangular open doorway in front and a domical roofing of dry leaves, crowned with a small conical projection (*śikhara*), probably the tie-knot (*naddha*) of the thatch, as is menttoned in the *Atharvaveda* (IX.3) as a part of the house[124] (Fig. 23.2).

In the Jetavana scene,[125] three *kuṭīs*—Gandha, Kosamba and Karori—the popular abodes of the Lord Buddha, have been carved out by the artist. Gandha and Kosamba *kuṭīs* are somewhat similar in design, having an arched doorway with a projected gable shade over it (Fig. 23.4; Pl. XXXII). The roofing of these hermitages is vaulted with small pinnacles. The floor in front of these *kuṭīs* is covered with coins to

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indicate the purchase of Jetavana by the banker, Anāthapiṇḍaka, with as many gold coins (*hiraṇyas*) as would cover the ground of the grove.[126] The Karori *kuṭī* is a plain circular cottage having a usual opening without any arch and a domical roofing with a tie-knot in the middle. It is encircled by the typical fencing (Fig. 23.3). All the three *kuṭīs* have a throne, the symbol of the Buddha's presence, in front of them.

From the above examples of huts and hermitages represented in Sāñchī sculpture, one can safely draw the conclusion that since these were covered with a thatching, their roofing was made domical in order to allow the rain water to flow down immediately. The roof of these ordinary huts was known as *chhādih*,[127] probably denoting the thatched covering, the *chhappara* of our time.

Śaila-gṛha (rock-cut cave)

The construction of rock-cut cave and its use were also in practice. An example of rock-cut cave dwellings can be cited from Sāñchī sculpture.[128] Within a rocky surface, a cave has been cut out with a rectangular open doorway with an arched lining over it. A projected shade of a horse-shoe design with pointed pinnacles at each end has also been carved out in order to provide shelter from the sun and rain (Fig. 23.6). It provides a true representation of rock-cut cave architecture based on the Mauryan caves of the Barābar hills.[129] Contemporary rock-cut caves of a similar shape and design have been found at Bhājā[130] and Nāsik.[131]

REFERENCES

1. *Vatthu vijjāchariyā*, 'principles of architecture' and *pāsāda māpana*, 'measurements for the construction of a royal palace', see *Suruchi Jāt.*, No. 489.
2. EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
3. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
4. WG, Back, Middle architrave; SG, Back, Lower architrave.
5. NG, East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
6. *RV* refers to many kinds of fortifications known as *āyasī*, made of *ayasa*, i.e., metal (I.58.8; II.20.8; X.101.8) and stone (IV.30.20); *āmā*, unbaked brick-walls (II.35.6); *dehi*, ramparts (VI.47.2); *pṛthvī*, broad; *ūrvī*, wide (I.189.2); *śatabhujī*, consisting of a hundred walls.
7. Cf. *'timahā parikhā*, 'great triple moat', of *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXV.48 and *'tihi pākārehi parikkhittaṁ'*, *Jāt.*, I.504.
8. *Arth.*, II.3.
9. *Mbh.*, I.207.29-32.
10. *Rāmā.*, I.5.13; VII.2.14, 21.
11. *Manu.*, IX.280, 289.
12. *Saundarananda*, I.42.
13. In order to prevent the enemy from crossing these moats, crocodiles were also kept in them. See *Mbh.*, *Śānti*, Ch. 69.43 *'āpūrayechcha parikhāṁ nakrajhashākulāṁ'*.
14. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Middle architrave.
15. NG, Back, West end, lower lintel.
16. EG, Front, Middle architrave.
17. Sometimes the difference between the *vapra* (plinth) and the *prākāra* (parapet) has been omitted by ancient and modern writers, and the terms have been treated as synonymous. Kauṭilya recognizes them as two separate architectural parts (*Arth.*, II.3, *durga vidhāna prakaraṇa*). He prescribes the construction of a strong and high *vapra* with the rubbish available from digging of the ditches (*parikhā*) around the city (*'khātād vapraṁ kārayet'*) and then a *prākāra* of a height double that of the *vapra* should be raised of brick (*'aishṭakaṁ . . . vaprasyopari prākāraṁ'*). It is also attested from *Vāyu Purāṇa* where both *vapra* and *prākāra* have been described together (*saudhochchaṁ vapra prākāraṁ*, VIII.104).
18. Cf. *ishṭaka prākāra*, *Arth.*, II.3; *iṭṭhikāpākāraṁ*, *Chullavagga*, V.1.9.
19. Cf. *silā-vigaḍa-bhīchā* (Rummindei MPI of Aśoka, Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 70), *puḍā-śilā-prākāra* (Hāthī-Bāṛā Insc. of Nāgarī, Bhandarkar, D.R., *The Architectural Remains*

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and Excavations at Nāgarī, MASI, No. 4) and *silā pākāra* (*Chullavagga*, V.1.9).

20. Cf. *pānsu prākāra, Harivaṁśa*, Ch. 54, line 116; *mahīdurga, Mbh.*, XII. 87.5. Archaeological excavations at Bhīṭā have revealed remnants of a rampart (*vapra*) made of the mud. See *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 30.
21. WG, Back, Upper architrave,
22. SG, Back, Lower architrave.
23. NG, Front, Lower architrave.
24. NG, Front, East pillar, Lower panel.
25. EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
26. WG, Back, Upper and Middle architraves.
27. EG, South pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
28. For the palisade found at Pāṭaliputra, see Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Early Indian Architecture 1—City and City-gates', *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, p. 213 vide Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 10.
29. *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 10.
30. *Artha.*, II.3.
31. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Indian Architectural Terms, *JAOS*, Vol 48, no. 3, p. 253.
32. *Vinaya*, I.140 and *Dīgha Nikāya*, I.209 mention *aṭṭa* as a watch-tower, vide Majumdar, G.P., 'Furniture', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, 1935-36.
33. *Soṇa Jāt.* (No. 282); *Chatudvāra Jāt.* (No. 439); *Sivi Jāt.* (No. 499); *Sudhā Bhojana Jāt.* (No. 535); *Mahābhāshya*, III.2.1; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 63.234; *Rāmā.*, V.37.10-13.
34. *Mahā Ummagga Jāt.* (No. 546).
35. Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 224.
36. Shukla, D.N., *Bhāratīya Vāstuśāstra*, pp. 190-91.
37. Cf. *Kaliṅgabodhi Jāt.*, No. 479.
38. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; NG, Back, West end, Lower lintel.
39. See SG, Back, Lower architrave; NG, Front, Lower architrave; Back, West end, Lower lintel; East pillar, Front face, Lower panel; West pillar, Front face, Lower panel; East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; EG, Front, Middle architrave; North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; South pillar, Front face, Lower panel; WG, Back, Upper and Lower architraves.
40. *Arth.*, II.3, '*dvayoraṭṭālakayormadhye-saharmyadvitalāmdvayardhayāmām-pratoliṁkārayet*'.
41. *Amara*, II.2.3, '*rathyā pratolī viśikhā syāt*'.
42. Ibid., II.3.16, '*puru dvāraṁ tu gopuraṁ*'.
43. *Rāmā.*, V.2.17, *pāṇḍurābhiḥ, pratolibhiḥ uchchābhiḥ.*
44. *Ibid*, VI.75.6.
45. *Mbh.*, XII.69.53 (cr. ed.).
46. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 71.
47. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 45: '*muni vasatimiha svargga sopāna rūpāṁ*'.
48. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, pp. 19, 17.
49. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 125, 127-28.
50. *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, Vol. 1, Ch. X, ślokas 38, 39, 47.
51. Shukla, D.N., *Bhāratīya Vāstuśāstra*, pp. 191-92; Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 215.
52. *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi*, IV.981, '*purudvāre gopuraṁ rathyā pratolī viśikhā samāḥ*'.
53. Shukla, D.N., *Bhāratīya Vāstuśāstra*, pp. 191-92.
54. Jain, Hira Lal, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛiti men Jaina Dharma kā Yogadāna*, pl. 295.
55. For details see Srivastava, A.L., '*Pratolī*: A Part of Ancient Indian Architecture', *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 1-6.
56. *Rāmā.*, V.2.18, *toraṇaiḥ kāñchanaiḥ divyaṁ*, 'marvellous gold arches'; I.5.10, *kapāṭatoraṇavatīṁ*, 'decorated with arches and protected with the doors'.
57. NG, Back, Middle architrave, west end; WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
58. EG, Front, Middle architrave.
59. It is a misnomer. Because this type of window was not only attached to a *chaitya* but also to the other religious and secular buildings. Actually, the type was a common and popular fashion of the time.
60. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel; Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 65.
61. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 73.
62. EG, South pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
63. EG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
64. *Rāmā.*, IV.33.8, *Prāsādairanekabūmibhiḥ*, 'multi-storeyed palaces'.
65. *M. Bhāshya*, V.1.111 vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 189. Cf. *Jat.* No. 546; *Rāmā.*, II.33.3, 4.
66. *Vikrama Charita*, '*ramyaṁ harmyaṁ*', vide Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Indian Architectural Terms', *JAOS*, Vol. 48, No. 3, p. 258.
67. *S.B.E.*, XIII, pp. 173-74, f.n. 1.
68. *Artha.*, II.3, '*saharmyadvitalāṁ*'. See Kangle, R.R., *The Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, Pt. II (trans.), p. 72 f.n.
69. The upper closed room with a *chaitya* window on all the palatial buildings in Sāñchī sculptures may also be identified with *chandraśālā* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, V.7.2.
70. Cf. '*aṭaṇṭhasā sukatat thambhā*', *Bhūridatta Jāt.* (VI.543.10).
71. *RV*, II.41.5; V.62.6 *sahasra sthūnā* (*prāsāda*). Cf. *sahassathambhā pāsāda, Bhūridatta Jāt.* No. 543. *Rāmā.*, V.15.16; V.39.22, *stambha sahasreṇa*.
72. Piggott, Stuart, *Prehistoric India*, p. 168.
73. Cf. a covered and protected staircase in Mathura sculpture of the same age (see Joshi, N.P., *Life in Ancient Uttarapatha*, fig. 64).
74. Piggott, Stuart, *Prehistoric India*, p. 168.
75. Cf. a railing studded with diamonds and crystals was constructed in the sleeping room

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of Kumbhakarṇa, *Rāmā.*, VII.13.5, '*vajra sphaṭika vedikaṁ*'. Also *Rāmā.*, V.3.8, '*vaidūrya kṛta vedikaiḥ*'.

76. See Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, pl. 15. This panel on coping stone is housed in the Allahabad Museum.
77. NG, East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
78. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
79. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; EG, North pillar, Front face; NG, East pillar, Lower panel.
80. NG, East pillar, Upper panel; EG, Front, Lower architrave, Middle section.
81. The earliest example can be seen in Lomas Rshi Cave, Barābar hills. See Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture in India*, pl. 7B.
82. *Ibid.*, pl. 17.
83. *Ibid.*, pl. 19A.
84. *Ibid.*, pl. 28.
85. Supra, p. 54, f.n. 59.
86. EG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
87. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
88. EG, North pillar, Front face.
89. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
90. *Raghu.*, VI.24, 43, 56; VII.5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 21, 40; XIV 13; XIX.7; *Ṛtu.*, V.2; *Megha.*, II.25.
91. *Raghu.*, VII.6.
92. *Raghu.*, VII.11; XIX.7.
93. *Artha.*, III.8, '*prakāśārthaṁ alpaṁ ūrdhvaṁ vātāyanaṁ kārayet*', for light *vātāyana* or window should be constructed above.
94. *Chullavagga*, VI.1.3.
95. Cf. *Megha.*, II.32, *jālamārga*; *Rāmā.*, V.7.1, '*vyāsakta-vaidūrya suvarṇa-jālaṁ*', windows made of gold and decked with precious stones like sapphire.
96. SG, Back, Lower architrave; NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel; EG, South pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
97. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel; EG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; EG, North pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
98. NG, Back, Lower architrave; East end, lower lintel; East pillar, Front face, Upper panel; EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
99. Stūpa No. 2, pillar No. 86a.
100. SG, Front, West end, Middle lintel.
101. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel.
102. *Pratijñā.*, III; *Mālavikāgni.*, III.2; *Vikramor.*, II.3; *Rāmā.*, V.42.16; *Mbh.*, I.210.16.
103. Pleasure-gardens for common people, as mentioned in ancient Indian literature (*Raghu.*, XIV.20, *puropakaṇṭhopavana*; *Rāmā.*, II.34.56, *puropakānana*; II.60.9, *nagaropavana*), have also been executed in Sāñchī sculptures. The most suitable and beautiful examples are found depicted on the north pillar of the Western Gateway and on the east pillar of the Northern Gateway.
104. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar No. 86a.
105. *Arth.*, II.31.
106. *Rāmā.*, II.91.32, *śālāścha gaja-vājinām.*
107. *Mahilāmukha Jāt.* No. 26, *Mahāummagga Jāt.* No. 546.
108. *Avimāraka*, III, p. 75.
109. See Penlens, 'Vijayanagar: The greatness and glory of a lost empire', *The Mirror*, Vol. IX, No. 3, p. 47.
110. The horse-stable is mentioned as *aśva-śālā* in *Artha.*, II.30, *vāji śālā* in *Rāmā.*, II.91.32 and *mandurā* in *M. Bhāshya*, I.1.3 and *Harshacharita*: *Eka Saṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 38; *M. Bhāshya*, II.4.25 also mentions *go-śālā*, a bullock-stable.
111. For a contemporary representation of a tiled building in Bharhut sculpture, see Barua, B.M., *Bharhut*, Bk. III, pl. LXXIX, fig. 105.
112. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
113. NG, Front, East end, Lower lintel.
114. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
115. *AV*, IX.3.17, '*triṇair āvṛtā paladān vasānā*'. Cf. *Chullavagga*, VI.1.3, *tiṇachchhādanā*.
116. *Ashṭā.*, V.3.88.
117. *Ibid.*, V.1.13, *chhādiḥ*.
118. *Suruchi Jāt.*, No. 489; *Ādichchupaṭṭhāna Jāt.*, No. 175; *Rāmā.*, II.99.4.
119. *Sakuṇa Jāt.* No. 36; *Sudhā Bhojana Jāt.* No. 535; *Bhūridatta Jāt.* No. 545; *Rāmā.*, II.56.20.
120. *Rāmā.*, II.99.4, 25.
121. NG, Back, Lower architrave.
122. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
123. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
124. Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Indian Architectural Terms', *JAOS*, Vol. 48, No. 3, p. 266.
125. NG, East pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
126. *Jāt.*, No. 92; *Chullavagga*, VI.3.14. Similar representations of the Jetavana are found at Bharhut (see Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXVIII) and Bodhagayā (see Cunningham, A., *Mahabodhi*, pl. VIII.8).
127. Pāṇini in his *Ashṭādhyāyī* (V.1.3) refers to *chhādisheya*, the material of which the *chhādis* was made. See Agrawala, V.S., *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 137. Cf. *chhādis* in *RV*, X.85.10.
128. NG, East pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
129. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. IX, No. 28.
130. *Ibid.*, pl. 29.
131. *Ibid.*, pl. 31.

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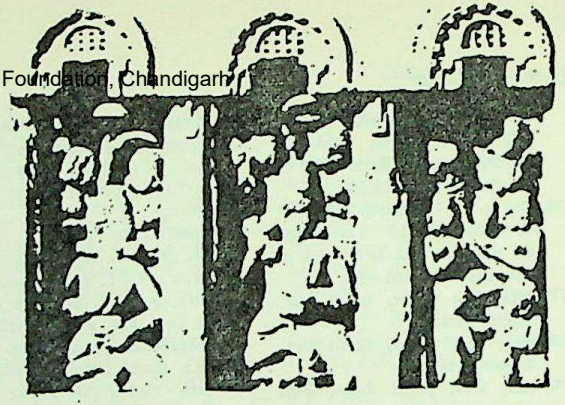

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

RELIGIOUS architecture represented in Sāñchī bas-reliefs includes various types of heavenly abodes, stūpas, *chaitya*-halls, *Bodhi*-temples, fire-chapels and shrines of *Tri-ratnas*, *Dharma-chakras* and Nāgas. These shrines in Sāñchī art show an interesting variation in religious architecture and seem to have inspired the evolution of the Hindu temple architecture of India which gained ground from the Gupta epoch onwards.

Svargīya Bhavana (heavenly abodes)

Glimpses of some heavenly abodes are clearly available in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. The whole space of a pillar of the Eastern Gateway is occupied by a representation of a seven-storeyed palace (*sapta-bhaumika prāsāda*). The two lower storeys are partly damaged. All the six lower storeys are pillared, accommodating Śakra enjoying the dance and music of a party of *apsarases* (Fig. 20.2; Pls. LXIII, LXIV).[1] The seventh storey at the top consists of two flanking rooms with a *chandra-śālā* above (Fig. 21.5). The building with *devas* worshipping the lock of Bodhisattva has a round and cylindrical roofing at its upper storey with attached strips making a cross on both sides. It has a doorway with the typical *chaitya* projection (Fig. 21.3; Pl. XXXIV).[2] In a scene of the *Nandana-vana*, the pleasure-grove of Śakra, we find an open portico on four pillars below and a closed *chandraśālā* with two flanking pillared porticoes above (Fig. 21.4).[3] The ground floor of a triple-storeyed *deva-bhavana* is seen accommodating a row of *devas*, the second floor is a pillared-hall decorated with garlands and the third is provided with *chaitya* doorways (Fig. 20.1).[4]

Stūpa

Among the prominent religious shrines in Sāñchī sculptures stūpa stands the first. The stūpa as an architectural unit in Buddhism came originally to contain the mortal remains of the Lord Buddha, divided into eight shares on the occasion of His *Nirvāṇa*, erected at Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Rāmagrāma, Vethadīpa, Pāvā and Kuśīnagara.[5] It was the beginning of the relic-worship in Buddhism which gave rise to the building of the Great Stūpas like those at Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhagayā and Amarāvatī. This feature of Buddhist worship has been elaborately depicted in several panels on the gateways of the Great Stūpa and Stūpa No. 3, and also on the ground rail-pillars of Stūpa No. 2 at Sāñchī.

Architecturally, a stūpa was a solid structure of hemispherical shape (*aṇḍa*), raised on a circular plinth (*medhī*), and surmounted at the top with a square superstructure (*harmikā*) and finally crowned with an umbrella (*chhatra*). It was encir-

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cled on the ground by a railing (*vedikā*). Ornamentally carved gateways (*toraṇa*) were erected over the openings in the railing at the four cardinal points. Besides a circumambulation (*pradakshiṇā*) on the ground, sometimes another above the plinth was also provided, and for this a stairway (*sopāna*), sometimes double, was erected. The stairway, the circumambulation on the ground and at the *medhi* and *harmikā* were also protected with a fencing (*vedikā*).

This description of a stūpa is based on the actual architectural design of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī itself and it has been well-represented in its various architectural forms in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. A very simple dome is seen decorated with a *harmikā*-railing and three umbrellas[6] (Fig. 24.4). No other parts have been shown in this structure. Another form of the representation of stūpa with its ground railing, turned-stepped and battlemented superstructure on *harmikā*, body (*aṇḍa*) decorated with garlands and a triple-umbrella in the centre flanked by single-tier umbrellas alternated by flaring festoons is found in the panels on both the Stūpas, No. 1 and 3[7] (Fig. 24.3; Pl. XXIX). One example of a very simple stūpa is a plain hemisphere with the ground railing, *harmikā*, superstructure of increased cornices and finally crowned with five single-tier umbrellas each standing on a stepped pedestal[8] (Fig. 24.5; Pl. XXXI).

The next form of the stūpa is quite similar to those described above except for the addition of a plinth (*medhi*). This type of stūpa, with men and women worshipping it, is depicted in several panels of the Great Stūpa[9] and Stūpa No. 3[10] (Fig. 24.7; Pl. XXX). Another development in stūpa architecture is the addition of another railing. This form of the stūpa with two railings, one at the ground and the other at the plinth, along with the *harmikā* and *chhatra*, quite analogous to the Great Stūpa, has been illustrated on different gateways (Fig. 24.6).[11]

Further addition in the stūpa architecture revealed by the Sāñchī bas-reliefs was a second plinth with its railing. A single and rare representation of such a stūpa with double plinth is to be noticed on the Great Stūpa.[12] This representation of stūpa is complete in all its architectural parts with profuse decoration and an imposing outlook. The stūpa, in fact, appears to be oblong in shape. It has four railings, one on the ground with a gateway of two architraves, two attached to the body indicating a double plinth and one at the dome below the *chhatrāvalī*. The *aṇḍa* is decorated with a line of flowers and garlands. The upper structure is comparatively more elaborate and imposing. There is a superstructure of many tiers each upper larger in size than the lower surmounted with conical battlements. At the top there stand three single-tier umbrellas decorated with garlands. This specimen at Sāñchī gives an idea of an enlarged, elaborated and well-decorated stūpa of the time when these gateways were executed (Fig. 24.8; Pl. LII).

A very typical representation of the stūpa is a structure just like the half egg in its vertical position. Its body is marked with horizontal layers of brick masonry and decorated with a pair of eyes, one placed above the other and surrounded by a square typical railing (Fig. 24.2; Pl. LXII).[13] Similarly, a pair of eyes is also fixed on all the four side walls of the *harmikā*-like superstructure in the Buddhist temple of Bodhnāth at Kāṭhmāṇḍū (Nepal).[14] According to modern Nepalese Buddhists, Buddha was also known as the *chakkhu*, the eye, which is the source of light, hence it represents the all-seeing Buddha.[15]

Chaitya gṛha (apsidal temple)

The only apsidal temple at Sāñchī (Temple No. 18) belonging to the sixth or seventh century A.D. is the third construction over two other buildings of the 2nd-1st and 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., respectively.[16] Marshall also excavated two other apsidal structures, one beneath Temple No. 40[17] and the other near Stūpa No. 2.[18] These structural *chaitya* buildings

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took the form of a large vaulted hall having an apse with a stūpa towards the back and divided longitudinally by two colonnades into a broad nave and two aisles.[19]

No such structural *chaitya*-hall (apsidal hall) has so far been found represented in Indian sculptures or reliefs anywhere else except at Sāñchī. Stūpa No. 3 at Sāñchī preserves the rare representation of such a building on a leading pillar of its stairway railing.[20] The building consists of a vaulted hall having an entrance in front and the back apparently closed. The entrance is surmounted with high typical *chaitya*-arch. The building has a square window on a side wall. A thick pillar surmounted by a capital of two lion and two elephant figures is seen by the side of the building. Both the front and the back of the building have an umbrella indicating the building to be a sanctuary (Fig. 26.3). The relief also represents the association of free standing pillar with the *chaitya* building which in ancient India was an established tradition of religious architecture and is quite evident from the examples found from Lauriya Nandangarh, Sāñchī, Sārnāth, Kārle, Kanherī, etc.[21]

Bodhi-temples

Besides the stūpas and *chaityas*, we find that after some time Buddhists also constructed temples enshrining the symbols or the objects of worship. Various forms of such Buddhist temples have been represented in Sāñchī sculptures. Majority of them lie in *Bodhi*-temples.

A very simple example of the *Bodhi* shrine was a tree sometimes encircled by a rectangular railing of a typical design, adorned with garlands and crowned with an umbrella (Pls. XIV, XXXII, XXXIII, LVIII, LIX).[22] Another example was an open building, rectangular, hexagonal or octagonal on its ground plan, supported on pillars, also rectangular or octagonal. The superstructure of these *Bodhi*-temples consisted of awning, railed balconies and arched windows on each side (Fig. 25.1; Pls. XVII, XXV).[23] The roof had small pinnacles (Fig. 25.4).[24] A tree crowned with a garlanded umbrella sprang out of the roof above indicating that the shrine was open to the sky, sometimes the branches stretching up through the airways (Fig. 25.2; Pl. XXXV). Inside the pillared accommodation of these temples there was placed a seat or *āsana* with or without a symbol over it. In one panel a single symbol of *trī-ratna* on a pedestal of *chakra* and in another three such symbols in a row on raised platforms are seen (Figs. 25.2, 1).

The antiquity of these *Bodhi*-temples may even go back to the days of Aśoka who, according to *Aśokavadāna*, had erected such a *Bodhi*-temple at Bodhagayā where Cunningham's excavations revealed traces of an ancient structure underlying the mediaeval temple.[25]

The multi-storey fashion of architecture was not confined to secular buildings. As evidenced in three-storeyed Sudharmā Sabhā at Bharhut,[26] the Sāñchī sculpture also represents similar multi-storeyed *Bodhi*-temples. One such example is an open shrine with an *āsana* inside. There stand six pillars, three on each side. The first floor contains in a row five doorways with arched airways over them, each alternated with a pillar. The second floor is a plain-pillared hall. The topmost storey has again two doorways, surmounted by arched windows, one on each side. All the storeys are provided with typical berm railings. Above the shrine there stands a *Bodhi*-tree crowned by an umbrella. The presence of the *Bodhi*-tree over this four-storeyed huge building marks the shrine as open to the sky.[27] This *Bodhi-ghara* appears to be a palatial building without any sort of difference in its architectural design from secular residential buildings (Fig. 22.2).

Agni-śālā (fire chapel)

A very peculiar representation of an alround open shrine is found on a pillar of the Eastern Gateway.[28] A round dome

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with a small pinnacle in the centre is supported by four corner pillars. Between the pillars and the dome there is a small awning and the typical fence on all the sides. The dome has an arched window on all sides. Inside the shrine, there is a throne, a small vertical utensil with burning fire in front and a five-headed cobra's hood behind. The flames have also been depicted coming out of all the windows. The scene, according to Marshall, represents the victory of the Buddha over the serpent in the fire-chapel of *Jaṭila* Kaśyapa (Fig. 25.4).[29] This panel is largely responsible to make certain scholars like Fergusson to understand in this panel the representation of serpent worship.[30] The association of the serpent with a shrine perhaps led Havell to recognise it as a Śiva shrine.[31] Marshall's interpretation seems to be correct.

Another example of a small fire-chapel may be cited from a panel on the Northern Gateway, where the story of *Ekaśriṅga Ṛshi*, the one-horned sage, has been carved out. It is a small round and pinnacled dome supported on pillars. It shelters a hearth with burning fire in it (Fig. 23.5).[32]

These are very clear representations of ancient *agniśālā*[33] or *yajña śālā*, where oblations to the fire were made daily by the Vedic ascetics. According to some scholars, Indian architecture is based on religion and it finds its origin through the methodical construction of the altars for the rites. The selection of proper land, its purification or levelling and its correct measurements for the construction of a ritual-altar seem to have been the leading factors in the evolution of Indian temple architecture.[34]

Chakra and Tri-ratna Shrines

A throne, the symbolic representation of the Buddha, is seen occupied in almost all the *Bodhi*-temples sculptured in Sāñchī art. But sometimes this throne has been occupied by a *chakra* or a *tri-ratna* or by both. A *tri-ratna* on the pedestal of a lotus-design *chakra* has been shown enshrined in a *Bodhi-ghara* (Fig. 25.2; Pl. XXXV).[35] In another *Bodhi*-shrine, three *tri-ratna* symbols in a row, each on a lotus-*chakra* pedestal, have similarly been enthroned (Fig. 25.I).[36] These shrines seem to have been responsible for the evolution of Hindu temples on similar architectural plans enshrining the images of gods and goddesses.

Maṭhiyā (small shrine)

Sāñchī sculpture represents a very simple but a peculiar shrine. It is a small round dome with a square railing supported on four corner pillars. Its upper structure appears just like a railed stūpa without plinth and *harmikā*. It has an empty throne inside. A round projection, like a beehive peeping out of the ceiling just over the throne, does not provide any correct explanation (Fig. 25.5).[37] However, it seems to pose a guideline to the later small or token Hindu temples, now generally known as *maṭhiyā*.

Pillars

Another form of the contemporary religious architecture found depicted in Sāñchī art is the pillar (*stambha*). The sacred pillars, generally rectangular, hexagonal and octagonal, are tapering towards the top which was an architectural necessity. This fact is indicative of an advanced engineering which had already been established during the Mauryan epoch. These pillars have been surmounted with the capitals (*śīrsha*) consisting of either four lions[38] or four elephants[39] or a *Dharma-chakra* (Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII).[40]

A very curious form of the capital contains an elephant flanked by two lions represented on a pillar of the ground railing of Stūpa No. 2 and on a leading pillar of the stairway railing of Stūpa No. 3 (Fig. 26.3).[41] It gives an idea of two elephants and two lions standing alternately. But no such capital has so far been found to corroborate the sculptural

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representation. In April, 1973, when I visited Sāñchī and Vidiśā, I saw a capital without the animals lying at the summit of the hill called Lohāṅgī in the modern city of Vidiśā. The bell-shaped usual capital, apparently a creation of the Śuṅga period, still preserves the traces of the paws of the animals, two pairs of the elephants and two of the lions in alternate position. This confirms and corroborates the representations found in Sāñchī art.[42]

These capitals are sometimes crowned with a large wheel, generally interpreted as the *Dharma-chakra*, kept over the heads of the lions. The sanctity of the pillars is evident from the railing and worshippers in adoration around them. These pillars appear similar to those erected by Aśoka at Sāñchī, Sārnāth and other places.

A very beautiful representation of a pillar with *Chakra*-capital has been executed on a *toraṇa* pillar of the Southern Gateway. The pillar rises from a pedestal of vase design over a stepped base and supports a wheel of thirty-two spokes, the outer rim of which is decorated with *tri-ratna* devices. The emblem is shaded with a garlanded umbrella. Hovering *mālādhārīs* with garlands above and worshippers in adoration below impart an unmistakable sanctity to the pillar. The representation of eight deers below makes it *Dharma-chakra* emblem symbolising the First Sermon at Sārnāth (Pl. XXXVII).[43]

Is it likely that these pillars are in any way linked with the Vedic *yūpas* required during ritual ceremonies and supposed to be the symbols of fire-stūpa (*agni-stūpa*), because the symbolism of the Vedic *yūpa* and the Buddhist stūpa, according to Agrawala,[44] is one and the same? A reference to these religious pillars is also met with in the *Milindapañho*[45] and the *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*.[46]

Building Material

The above description goes to show that in the time of the Sāñchī gateways, the common building materials were mainly stone and brick. Generally, plaster or cementing paste was coated over the outer surface of buildings. As a rule, every residential building was plastered. But a few examples have also been found where the plaster had not been applied.[47] The present Stūpa No. 3 is also devoid of plaster. A rare specimen of tiles, though apparently not very popular, indicates its use in high-roofed buildings. The sculptural representation of Sāñchī architecture does not preclude the use of wooden material. Its use in grand buildings in the form of battons is very clear. But wood mainly constitutes the material of the huts and hermitages.

On the upper portion of the Eastern Gateway pillars, there is clear evidence that it was once painted in dark red colour which is a sure indication that the rest of the building including the railings, gateways and the dome was originally painted. The painting is now worn out on account of the ravages of sun and rain. Havell, a famous art critic, goes to such an extent that it is highly probable that the dome of the stūpa was plastered and no doubt finished with a fine surface to receive the fresco paintings; and the sculptures of the gateway were also finished with a fine coat of white stucco and painted, as was certainly the case of similar sculptures at Amarāvatī.[48] At least, so far as the residential buildings are concerned we are on the firm ground in deducing that these buildings were painted in ancient times.

Chullavagga refers to bathrooms (*udapāsālaṁ*) and painted dwelling rooms (*koṭṭhaka*) which were painted white (*setuvaṇṇaṁ*) and black (*kālavaṇṇaṁ*); and coated with ochre (*geru parikammaṁ*).[49] It also mentions a building plastered with the lime (*sudhāmattīkālepanaṁ pāsādaṁ*).[50] The *Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions white palaces (*pāṇḍurāṇi veśmāṇi*),[51] white ramparts (*sudhā prākāra*)[52] and workers engaged in white-washing (*sudhākārāḥ*).[53] With these references, we are now sure that the buildings were whitewashed and painted in various colours.

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REFERENCES

1. EG, North pillar, Front face.
2. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
3. Small Gateway, Front, Lower architrave.
4. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
5. In the present state of our knowledge, one cannot agree with Fergusson that "the Buddhist stūpa is the direct descendant of the sepulchral tumulus of Turanian races and that Indians neither have buried their dead nor had any tumuli among them" (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Ed. by James Burgess and R. Phene Spiers, p. 65). In fact, it is pre-Buddhistic and indeed only a modification of a world-wide custom (Barua, B.M., *Bharhut: Stone as a Story Teller*, BK. I, p. 80).
6. NG, Back, West pillar, Upper panel, see Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, pl. XXXIII.
7. EG, South end, Upper lintel; Stūpa 3, Back, West end, Lower false capital.
8. SG, West end, Lower false capital.
9. NG, Back, East end, Lower false capital; EG, Back, North end, Upper false-capital, etc.
10. Stūpa 3, Middle architrave, centre; Middle flanking lintels; West pillar, South face, etc.
11. SG, Middle architrave, centre; Back, Upper architrave, centre; Back, East end, Lower false-capital; EG, Back, Lower architrave, centre; Stūpa 2, balustrade pillar (No. 44c).
12. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
13. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
14. See Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pl. 97A.
15. Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 134.
16. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 115.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
19. See Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pl. VII.2.
20. See Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 3, pl. XCIII.
21. Cf. Agrawala, V.S., *Chakradhvaja*, p. 18.
22. NG, East pillar, Front, Upper panel; West pillar, Front, Lower panel; Middle upright between lower and middle architraves; West pillar, Inner face, middle panels; EG, Front, North pillar, Inner face, Upper and Lower panels; Two Upper flanking and one Lower north end upright; Middle architrave, middle section; WG, Front, Upper and Lower dies; South pillar, Upper panel; Stūpa No. 2, rail pillar No. 5b.

2.3 SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; EG, South pillar, Front face, Upper panel; EG, Front, Lower architrave, centre.

24. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
25. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 33.
26. See Cunningham, A., *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XVI.
27. WG, Back, Lower architrave, centre.
28. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
29. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 74.
30. Fergusson, *Tree & Serpent Worship*, p. 222.
31. Havell, E.B., *A Hand Book of Indian Art*, pl. XXIB.
32. NG, Front, West end, Lower lintel.
33. Cf. *Ādichchupaṭṭhāna Jāt.*, No. 175; *Rāmā.*, II.58.18, II.91.11.
34. Shukla, D.N., *Bhāratīya Vāstu-vidyā*, p. 13. Cf. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 1.
35. EG, South pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
36. SG, East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
37. SG, East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
38. SG, capitals; NG, Front, Middle upright over middle architrave; West end, Lower die; EG, Front, Middle upright over Middle, and left upright over Lower architraves; Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar Nos. 3a, 44b.
39. Stūpa No. 2, Ground rail pillar No. 66b.
40. SG, West pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
41. Another such capital composed of two lions and an elephant in between has also been carved on a wheel-pillar represented on the ground rail-pillar of Stūpa No. 1 at Andher and which is said to be a contemporary one. See Cunningham, A., *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 222.
42. For details see Srivastava, A.L., 'A Curious Capital motif in Sāñchī bas-reliefs and its Sculptural Corroboration', *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Jan. 1974), pp. 15-18, figs. 3-5.
43. SG, West pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
44. Agrawala, V.S., *The Stupa of Bharhut* by A. Cunningham, Introduction, p. ii. Cf. *Divyāvadāna* (ed. by Cowell), p. 59.
45. *Dhamma-stambha, Milindapañho* (trans. by Bhikshu Jagdish Kasyapa), p. 26.
46. *Cheiya-khambha* or *chaitya-stambha*, *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*, Kaṇḍikā 127, p. 225.
47. See outer boundary walls on SG, Back, Lower architrave; EG, Front, South pillar, Lower panel; and WG, Back, Middle architrave.
48. *A Hand Book of Indian Art*, p. 29.
49. *Chullavagga*, V.8.20; VI.1.9.
50. *Ibid.*, VI.1.10.
51. *Rāmā.*, V.7.10.
52. *Ibid.*, II.80.19.
53. *Ibid.*, II.80.3.

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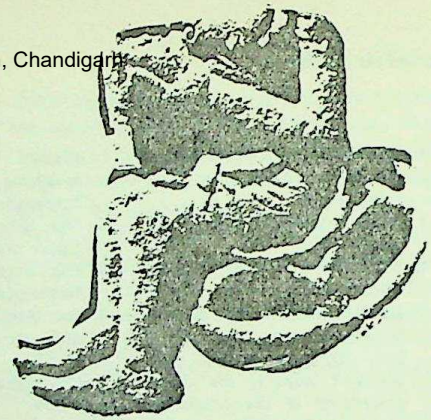

CHAPTER VII

FURNITURE AND OTHER BELONGINGS

SĀÑCHĪ sculptures provide an encylopaedia of information regarding various articles of furniture, utensils and other householdware in common use.

FURNITURE

The common Indian term for furniture is *śayanāsana* in Saṁskrit[1] and *senāsana* in Pāli.[2] According to Buddhaghosha, the *senāsana* is that which provides accommodation for sleep and rest.[3] Actually the term *śayanāsana* is a compound word indicating the two classes of furniture, the *śayana* for sleeping and rest, and the *āsana* for sitting. The *Mahāvagga* gives a long list of articles of furniture including various varieties of stools, chairs, sofas and bedsteads.[4] The *Jātakas* refer to them as decorated.[5] Ivory-studded furniture is also mentioned in literature.[6]

Since we do not have any material evidence of Indian furniture excavated from any Indian site, due to its being made of wood which is perishable in nature, its sculptural representation is of special value to us. Sāñchī sculptures exhibit a variety of seats, wicker-stools, thrones, chairs, footstools and cots which were in use in the days of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas.

Āsana (seats)

Different varieties of the seat (*āsana*, *pīṭha* or *mañcha*) were used by people in ancient India. An ordinary seat apparently made of some thick covering and filled with some cushion material is frequently depicted on the panels. It was generally round. Its small height was marked out into a lower and an upper part divided by a ring of a double ribbon, probably used to tie up the contents inside the seat (Fig. 27.4; Pl. XXXII). Such types of seats represented in Sāñchī sculptures may be identified with *brisī*[7] or *bhisī*,[8] a bolster, which according to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (II.150) were stuffed with wool, cotton, cloth, bark, grass or talipot leaves.[9] Persons in the audience or worshippers around a *Bodhi*-tree and the throne have been shown sitting on such ordinary seats.[10] This was a common type of seat.

Another type is seen occupied by a Brāhmaṇa anchorite. He sits on a seat apparently made of a rectangular wooden block.[11] The life of an ascetic is noted for penance and is devoid of material comfort. A wooden seat in place of a couch, therefore, appears to be quite in conformity with the above notion. Such wooden seats are still used in Indian homes, particularly when a meal is served. It is generally known as *pīḍhā*, a corrupt form of *pīṭha*, which is a Vedic term for a seat.[12]

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A lotus seat, meant presumably for the divinities, has also been depicted in Sāñchī art. Śrī-Lakshmī or Gaja-Lakshmī always occupies such a seat. Sometimes a full-blown lotus[13] (Pls. XXI, XXII, XXIII) and sometimes a raised pericarp[14] (Pl. XXV) has been depicted as her divine seat full of grandeur and majesty.[15]

Vetrāsana (wicker-stools)

Still another type of seat, depicted in Sāñchī art, is a wicker-stool (*vetrāsana* or *moḍhā*) which is mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* as *bidalamañchakaṁ*.[16] It was made of cane. Its drum-like body was tied in the middle with a cane stick, probably in order to keep the structure intact. The uppermost portion had a covering made of some thick material which was sometimes made of some cushion material to provide a comfortable seat (Figs. 27.1-3). These sophisticated and well-dressed seats had an ovalloid shape, and were normally used by some royal, noble or divine persons. Upendra,[17] the viceroy of Indra and the Nāgarāja Muchalinda[18] are seen occupying this seat. Queens have also been represented sitting on similar wicker-stools.[19] It indicates that the wicker-stool was not supposed to be an ordinary seat. Being occupied by the royal and divine persons it must have been a rather prestigious article of furniture.

Another peculiar seat in the form of an inverted basket with cut holes and a round cushion is represented on a ground rail-pillar of Stūpa No. 2 (Fig. 27.5; Pl. LXXX).

Mañcha (thrones)

A four-legged square seat was also a popular article of furniture in the days of the Sāñchī sculptures. It was apparently a wooden frame with a woven seat (Fig. 27.7).[20] The back of the seat is not very clear but from the position of the hand of its occupant in sculpture, the presence of an arm is implied (Pl. XIII). Even today, such a small seat called *machiyā*, a corrupt form of the word *mañcha*, is used in Northern India.

A better and more majestic seat appears on a panel on Stūpa No. 3. The seat has carved legs. Both the front legs are visible. These are quite similar to those which we have in modern times. Apparently, the seat has also a back of some small height. This specimen is quite similar to our modern armless chair[21] (Fig. 27.10). It could as well be described as a royal throne. These seats may be identified with the *āsandi*[22] of ancient times which was a modern chair interwoven with cords of *muñja* grass.[23]

Armchair

From a singular representation in Sāñchī bas-reliefs, it is obvious that the armchair was also in use. On a panel depicting a pleasure-garden, a king is seen seated on an armchair along with his queen on a wicker-stool in his front. The chair of the king is four-legged with side arms and back. The core of the seat is decorated with lining and a dotted design. The arms have the support of bars. The legs of the chair have been chiselled out in quite a modern style, and they have broad bases (Fig. 27.12; Pl. LII).[24] The above-mentioned illustration shows its occupant sitting with his legs let down and the hands kept over the arms of the chair. Doubtless it is a royal seat found represented only in Śuṅga art.[25] No representation of such a seat has been found in the art of any later period.

This seat poses an interesting question. The cross-legged posture in the Indian fashion of sitting was not possible with this type of seat. Such seats with side arms, according to some scholars, were very common in the Hellenistic and Roman world, whence, in all probability, through commercial contacts this type found its way into India. But obviously because it was not convenient to sit on it in the true Indian cross-legged

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fashion, it does not appear to have found favour with Indians and its absence in the art of the later periods is, therefore, quite striking.[26]

Sofa

A most modern sofa-couch with a high back and suitable sides has been found on a fragment from the west pillar of the Southern Gateway.[27] It has very small supporting legs and spacious accommodation as in the case of the modern sofa-couch (Fig. 27.11; Pl. LXXIII). Both the above representations are peculiar pieces of furniture which usually do not figure in the art of the later periods.

Pāda-pīṭha (footstools)

The footstool was a necessary complement of the throne. Sometimes it was given as much importance as the throne itself. That the *pāda-pīṭha* formed part of the royal insignia is evident from the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta where the term *charaṇa-pīṭha* has been used.[28] It was the footstool of the king to which reverence was paid by his subordinates. Similar respect has always been paid to the footstool of a divinity.

Sāñchī sculptures represent a few specimens of the footstool. Very clear illustrations of the footstool are found in the scene of Indra's heaven.[29] The footstool used by Indra appears to have been a square block of wood with the top plank fitting on all sides. Generally the shape is quite simple and plain but in one case the sides of a footstool have vertical rib designs (Fig. 27.8). A simple footstool without any design is also seen under the seat of the Māra.[30]

Paryanka (bedsteads)

Another seating furniture represented in Sāñchī sculptures is very much like a bed in shape. Three beds have been sculptured in a panel on the north pillar of the Western Gateway. Three of the four couples in romantic poses have been shown seated on these beds, separately arranged under the shade of trees in a pleasure-garden. These specimens of the bed appear to have been made of wooden planks supported on four broad and stout legs with rectangular tops (Fig. 27.9; Pl. LV). The shape, size and design of these seats mark them us bedsteads. Since the furniture is arranged under the shade of trees in a pleasure-garden, they may be described more precisely as *takhtas*[31] or *palaṅgas*[32] which were meant for lying down and relaxing. Thus we find both the *śayana* and *āsana* types of furniture represented in Sāñchī sculptures.

UTENSILS, VESSELS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

Like furniture, different varieties of utensils were popular among the people of ancient India. Vessels of daily use were made of iron, bronze, copper, pewter, lead, wood and earth.[33] Many of them find their representation in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. Of them different varieties of jars, cups, tumblers, bowls, ladles, spoons, trays, baskets and other containers are noteworthy.

Udakumbha (water-jars)[34]

The jar represented in Sāñchī art includes the ordinary water-jar, ascetic's jar, hunter's jar, gourd, drinking-vessels, ewers, ambrosia jars and flower pots. Water-jars of various shapes and decorations on them, in some cases with slightly bulging shoulders[35] (Figs. 28.10, 12) or elongated body[36] (Fig. 28.11) with a tumbler on their mouth, are seen represented in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. One with an elongated body, high neck and decorations of curvilinear designs appears to be an earthen jug or *surāhī* containing cool water[37] (Fig. 28.11; Pl. LXXII). Simple earthen pitchers, sometimes with imposed

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designs on them and metallic jars were used by ascetics for drawing water from rivers and performing rituals (Figs.29.1-3).[38]

A simple representation of a hunter's water-jar with a high neck and elongated belly[39] deserves our attention, not for its shape but because it is with a netting for easy carriage. While going for hunting, a hunter would naturally like to have a reserve of stored water. Another very peculiar but quite ordinary water-pot is represented in the form of a gourd. One demon of the fleeing army[40] is seen refreshing his companion by pouring water from a gourd (Fig. 30.1).

Madya-kalaśa (drinking-vessels)

Drinking-vessels are seen in the hands of maid-servants attending on a royal or divine person. In the scenes representing the Nāgarāja Muchalinda on the Western[41] and a king with his two queens on the Southern[42] Gateways, a drinking-vessel is seen in the hands of a female attendant (Pls. XXXIII, LXXII). In a scene of pleasure-garden, an attendant is seen pouring some drinking substance from a jar into a cup held by a queen seated on a *moḍhā* in front of the king on an armchair (Pl. LII).[43] A drinking-vessel may be seen in the hand of one of the demons in a merry-making mood enjoying drinking, dancing and music.[44]

Kamaṇḍalu (ewers)

Ewers as an offering to the Buddha have also been found represented in the panels on the Sāñchī stūpas. Generally the *devas*,[45] *nāgas*[46] and worshippers[47] attending the symbol of the Buddha, the stūpa or the *Bodhi*-temple, have been shown holding ewers with a round handle and spout. However, a panel on the Western Gateway[48] representing the *devas* standing in adoration before a *Bodhi*-temple and holding ewers without handle and spout like ordinary pitchers, poses an exception to Sāñchī ewers (Pl. XVII).

The round handle of an ewer was usually attached to the lid at the top (Figs. 28.7, 8). But exceptions of a rectangular handle (Fig. 28.9)[49] and one attached to the body of the jar like a modern tea-pot (Fig. 29.4)[50] are also met with.

Ewers represented in Sāñchī sculptures appear to have been made of some metal, brass or copper, and their shape seems to be that of a *kamaṇḍalu*[51] used by a monk or an ascetic. Such metallic and wooden ewers are still used by worshippers and mendicants.

Amṛta-ghaṭa (ambrosia jar)

The famous ambrosia jar of Indra is also represented on the panels of the *Śyāma-Jātaka*[52] and the six inferior heavens.[53] Everywhere the pot is an ordinary Indian one with a round belly and an average-size mouth.

Bhadra-kalaśa (flower-pots)

Without mention of the pleasant varieties of flower-pots, any description of Sāñchī jars cannot be complete. We find a variety of flower-pots as the emerging source of the lotus stalks with or without the goddess Padmā Śrī or Gaja-Lakshmī (Pls. XXIII, XXXVIII). Generally these pots had a round belly with[54] or without[55] a round base (Figs. 28.1, 2, 3). But in some cases it had a wide flaring mouth with a constricted neck and globular body[56] (Fig. 28.4; Pl. XXIII). Specimens of a cylindrical body with a raised and wide mouth are also found (Fig. 28.5).[57]

Some of these flower-pots, also called *bhadra-kalaśa* or *bhadra-ghaṭa*, were profusely decorated. The most popular design consisted of lotus-petals, sometimes with a round or conical end (Figs. 28.1-3). Generally, the middle of the body had a band decorated either with coloured linings (Fig. 28.3),[58] rectangular blocks (Fig. 28.2)[59] or squares of flowery designs (Fig. 28.1).[60] The upper and lower body of the pot was

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generally decorated with lotus-petals emerging from the neck and the base, respectively. The representation of these flower-pots displays a highly developed art-decoration and aesthetic sense. Moreover, they also represent the antique tradition of decorating edifices with these auspicious pitchers (*maṅgala ghaṭa*).

Cups and Tumblers

Representation of drinking-cups and tumblers, generally in association with jars, is found in the panels depicting a king and queen in the pleasure-garden (Pl. LII),[61] couples enjoying picnics[62] (Pl. LV), army of demons in a merry-making mood[63] and the Nāgarāja Muchalinda with his nāgī queens (Pl. XXXIII).[64] The cup turned on the mouth of a jar serving as a lid may also be noticed on different panels[65] (Pl. LXXII).

All the representations except one which is a long tumbler (Fig. 28.11) display almost a similar shape and design of the cup. Apparently, they were plain and without any decorative design or painting on them. Their wide mouth and pointed base show their slight affinity with the modern Indian earthen cups called *kulhaḍa* (Figs. 28.10, 12). However, it cannot be said with certainty that all the specimens in Sāñchī sculptures are necessarily earthen cups. We are well aware that metallic vessels were also used by noble and royal personages in ancient India.

Śarāva (bowls)

It is evident from the Sāñchī bas-reliefs that round and spacive bowls were used in the area during the epoch of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas. These bowls probably full of honey or milk being offered to the Buddha by a monkey[66] and worshippers[67] have been represented. A bowl containing some ritual substance, probably *ghee*, has also been depicted.[68] The bowl is without a pedestal and with bulging shoulders at the top. The core is decorated with a line of dots (Fig. 29.6). This bowl, serving the purpose of the sacrificial ritual, seems to be a type of earthen or stone pot known as *chamasa* in Vedic times[69] and mentioned as *śarāva* by Pāṇini.[70]

Another type of bowl has a wide rim which indicates its thick material (Fig. 29.5).[71] This specimen seems to have been made on a potter's wheel because of its accurate round shape. Pottery made on a potter's wheel has been widely used from the most ancient times in India. This is confirmed by the excavations of many potsherds at different ancient sites and corroborated by Pāṇini, in whose work pottery has been clearly mentioned.[72] An inscription on a pavement slab near the Western Gateway of the Great Stūpa[73] mentions the gift of a potter (*kulālasa dānaṁ*) which leaves no doubt in the existence of a class of potters in contemporary society.

Ladles and Spoons

Ladles and spoons along with water-jars, bowls and altar vessels represented in Sāñchī art were meant only for ceremonial purposes. These were used for pouring oblations (*havisha*) and *ghee* into the sacred fire. The ladle was roughly a rectangular and flat piece attached to a long handle (Fig. 29.10). The spoon was a small round bowl with a similar long handle (Fig. 29.8). Spoons with their bowls having a long channel apparently to facilitate the pouring of *ghee* into the fire were also used by the ascetics (Fig. 29.9). Ladles and spoons in Sāñchī sculptures are to be found in the panels representing the *Viśvantara Jātaka*,[74] *Śyāma Jātaka*[75] and a hermitage (Pl. LXII).[76] From the above, it is evident that the ladles and spoons represented at Sāñchī were used for ceremonial purposes. But this does not preclude the possibility that similar ladles and spoons were also used in common kitchens.

Trays and Baskets

In almost every panel depicting the sacred symbol of the

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Lord, *Bodhi*-tree or the stūpa, we find the worshippers, particularly the ladies and the hovering *kinnaras*, holding trays or baskets full of flowers, fruits or garlands. The identification of the tray or *thālī* (Saṁsk. *sthālī*)[77] and the basket at Sāñchī is based upon their shape. Those with a round and sometimes oblong body with flat bottom may be the trays (Fig. 29.14), while others with a deep, hollow and round body should be identified as baskets (Figs. 29.12, 13). A very clear representation of a basket full of fruits may be seen on the head of a female ascetic returning from the forest to her *parṇaśālā* (Fig. 34.7; Pl. XII).[78]

Basket-making was a widely practised craft in the past. Cane-work (*bidalakārī*) is referred to as early as the Vedic times.[79] It is also alluded to in *Mahāvagga*, VI.1.3. Manu mentions bamboo and cane workers.[80]

Relic-Caskets

Besides the above described vessels, we also notice a round or cylindrical box with a lid of the same size. The lid has a knob in the centre perhaps for easy handling (Fig. 30.5). It is represented at different places. In the scenes depicting the 'war of the relics', this box is shown being carried over the heads of elephants (Pl. XV).[81] Here, it is doubtlessly a relic-casket. From the excavations of many stūpas, stone-caskets have been unearthed and this corroborates the practice of enshrining relics in stone-caskets.

Tiffin-Carriers or Toilet-Cases

On a lintel of the Southern Gateway, a couple (the male is now broken) has been chiselled out sitting on a rocky surface in the jungle. On their laps lies a typical *vīṇā*. A jug of water (or wine) with an inverted cup as its lid is placed below. Quite near them, a cylindrical box is hanging on a *nāgadaṅta* (Pl. XLIX). The box is, no doubt, quite similar in shape to the one described as a relic-casket above. But here its identification with a relic-casket is untenable. Here the couple is enjoying a picnic. The presence of a drinking-vessel (of cool water or wine) helps us in recognizing in the cylindrical box a container of some edible preparation which is a necessity on an outing or picnic. The possibility of a toilet-case in this cylindrical box can also not be ruled out.

Similar cylindrical boxes have also been represented elsewhere. Out of a pair of the bull-riders on the Southern Gateway,[82] one rider holds in his raised hand a similar cylindrical box. Foucher identifies it as a relic-casket,[83] which has nothing to do with bull-riders here. To me it appears to be a container of either some edible or toilet preparation needed for picnic purposes.

Agni-pātra (fire-receptacles)

A container of the sacred fire has also been variously represented in Sāñchī sculptures. On the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas, wherever the sacred fire has been shown, it is always shown tended in a receptacle, and this fire-vessel (*agni-pātra*) has always been associated with ascetic life. Two clear varieties of the fire-receptacle, one like a bowl on a pedestal (Fig. 29.7)[84] and the other a deeper one like a *moḍhā* (Fig. 29.11),[85] are carved out on the stūpas.

OTHER HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

Winnowing-Basket

Sāñchī sculptures afford the interior view of a house[86] where many ladies are shown engaged in different domestic chores. One sitting lady is winnowing grain in a winnowing-basket. One part of the basket is stretched straight, while the other towards the handle is round. A small raised core is provided to the basket in order to save the grain from dropping out (Fig. 30.4). Now-a-days it is made of broom-sticks.

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The Sāñchī specimen, though not very clear, seems to have been made of the same material. With a slight difference in shape, the winnowing basket is still used in India to separate grain from chaff. Its use in ancient times is referred to by the term *śūrpa*[87] in Saṁskrit and *suppa*[88] in Pālī and Prākṛt. The antiquity of the winnowing-basket goes back even to the Vedic period when *śūrpakāra*, a class of *śūrpa*-makers, belonged to the artisan classes.[89]

Mortar and Pestle

Another lady in the same scene is busy pounding some grain in a stone mortar with a heavy and thick pestle-rod (*mūsala*). The mortar is just like a *ḍamarū*, i.e. two bowls joined to one another by their pedestal sides. The upper hollow served as the mortar in which the pounding grain was kept and the lower turned hollow served as the pedestal (Fig. 30.9). The pestle was a heavy and thick rod and the lady had to stand to work it. Pounding of rice in the same way is still found in the coastal areas of Mahārāshṭra.[90] The Indian term for mortar is *ulūkhala*, presently known as *khala* or *okhalī*, while the pestle is known as the *mūsala*. These terms occur as early as the *Atharvaveda*.[91]

Grinding-Stone and Pastry-Board

Two other ladies in the same panel have been shown working separately on the pastry-boards with rollers in their hands. One lady is represented as sitting along with a man and apparently talking to him. She is grinding something on the board with a roller in her hands (Fig. 30.8). Another standing lady is similarly busy on a similar board. The only difference between their boards is one of size. The former is smaller with short legs, while the latter is bigger with larger legs (Fig. 30.10). Due to their sizes, the smaller seems to be a *sil* or grinding stone[92] for grinding spices like the one still in use in every part of the country; and the larger one may be identified as a pastry-board for rolling cakes or *chapātīs*. According to some scholars, this novel method of preparing cakes is un-Indian and seems to be an imitation of the typical Greek method of bread-preparation.[93] It is certainly a rare instance and the earliest representation of its kind in the whole range of Indian art.

Vyajana (fans)

Fans also figure in Sāñchī art. The fan was meant to produce waves of air to relieve the effects of heat, sweating, thirst, fainting and excess of fatigue.[94] One example of the fan in the shape of a large palm-leaf is seen in the hands of a lady (Fig. 30.6).[95] Female terracotta figurines holding palm-leaf fans have been found from Kauśāmbī.[96] Fans made of palm-leaves have been mentioned in the *Jātaka* stories[97] and are still in use particularly in the eastern areas of the country. Another form of the fan represented in scenes of hermitage[98] was in use for fanning the sacred fire in receptacles. The fan is a rectangular piece of mat with one side turned in (Fig. 30.7; Pl. LXII). Apparently, it was made of green leaves of the date-palm (*khajūra*) like the one still in use in India.

Carrier's Pole

In the panel described above, an ascetic is seen carrying the load of the two baskets each one suspended on a bamboo pole with ropes kept on his shoulder (Fig. 30.2; Pl. LXII). It is called the *bahaṅgī*, a corrupt form of the Saṁskrit word *vihaṅgikā*.[99] It is an old device to carry heavy loads suspended at the ends of a pole by professional carriers[100] and is still in use in the rural areas.

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11. NG, Front, West end, Lower lintel.
12. *Vāj. Saṁ.*, XXX 21; *Taitt. Br.*, III. 4.17.1, vide *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 70.
13. See Marshall & Others, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pls. XI, XXIV, XXV, XXX, XLI, XLIV, Vol. 3, pls. LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, XC, XCVII.
14. SG, Front, East end, Lower die.
15. Cf. *Siri Kāḷakaṇṇi Jāt.* No. 382 where such divine seat (*divya senāsana*) of the goddess Śrī has been mentioned, and *Śrī sukta*, 4.
16. *Mahāvagga*, VI.1.3.
17. EG, Front, North pillar.
18. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
19. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel.
20. NG, Back, Middle architrave.
21. Stūpa No. 3, Front, Lower architrave.
22. *AV*, XIV.2.65; XV.3.2, 3; *Taitti. Saṁ.*, VII.5.8.5; *Ait. Br.*, VIII.5, 6, 12; *Śat. Br.*, III. 3.4.26; V.2.1.22; V.4.4.1; *Ashṭā.*, VIII.2.12; *Baud. Śr. Sūtra*, X.12; *Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūtra*, XVII.2.6-9; *Chullavagga*, VI. 8.27.
23. *Vedic Index*, I.71; Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpa-sūtras*, p. 156.
24. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel.
25. Similar armchairs have also been sculptured at Bodhagayā (see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture De Bodhagayā*, pl. LV), Bharhut (Cunningham, A., *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XLVIII.2) and painted at Ajantā (Yazdani, G., *Ajanta*, pt. III, pl. XXXC); and also found on a terracotta from Kauśāmbī (see Kala, S.C., *Terracotta Figurines from Kauśāmbī*, pl. XVA).
26. Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 54.
27. Now kept in Sāñchī Museum. See Marshall & Foucher, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. LXVIIC.
28. *CII*, Vol. 3, p. 54, *'kshitipa charaṇa-pīṭhe sthāpito vāma pādaḥ'*.
29. EG, Front, North pillar.
30. NG, Middle architrave, Back view.
31. *Takhta*, a rectangular sheet of wooden planks supported on four corner pillars, is largely used in India.
32. Cf. *pallaṅka* in *Chullavagga*, VI. 8.27 and *paryaṅka* in *Ashṭā.*, VIII.2.22. The modern word *palaṅga* is a corrupt form.
33. *Manu.*, V.114; VIII.289, 327.
34. Ibid., III.68.
35. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel, WG, Front, East end, Middle lintel.
36. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Middle panel.
37. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
38. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; NG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section.
39. NG, Back, Lower lintel.
40. WG, Back, North end, Lower lintel.
41. WG, North pillar, Inner face.
42. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
43. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel.
44. NG, Back, Middle architrave, Right Half Section.
45. WG, Back, Lower architrave, Left half section.
46. SG, Front, Middle architrave.
47. SG, Front, Upper dies; NG, Front, Middle and Lower architraves; NG, Back, Lower architrave; EG, Front, Upper lintel.
48. WG, Back, Lower architrave, Left half section.
49. NG, Front, Lower architrave.
50. NG, Back, East end, Lower die.
51. Cf. *karaka*, *Manu.*, IV.36.66.
52. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
53. EG, North pillar, Front face.
54. SG, Back, East end, Upper die; NG, Back, West end, Upper die.
55. NG, Back, East end, Upper die; EG, Back, South end, Lower die.
56. EG, South end, Upper die.
57. Stūpa 2, Pillar No. 17a.
58. EG, North end, Lower die.
59. NG, Back, East end, Upper die.
60. SG, Back, East end, Upper die.
61. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel.
62. NG, East pillar, Lower panel.
63. NG, Back, Middle architrave, Right half section.
64. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
65. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; NG, Front, East end, Middle lintel.
66. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
67. SG, East pillar, Front face, Upper panel.

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68. NG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section
69. *Chamasa* was a drinking-vessel usually employed for holding *Soma* at a sacrifice. It is frequently mentioned from the *Ṛgveda* onwards. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. I.255.
70. *Ashṭā.*, VI.2.29.
71. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
72. *Ashṭā.*, IV.3.18, *kulāla.*
73. *Monuments of Sāñchi*, Vol. 1. p. 346, Insc. No. 460.
74. NG, Back, Lower architrave, Extreme right section.
75. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
76. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
77. *Ashṭā.*, V.1.70.
78. NG, Back, Lower architrave, Middle section.
79. Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 56.
80. *Manu.*, VIII.327, *veṇu-vaidala-bhāṇḍākāraka.*
81. SG, Back, Lower architrave.
82. SG, Back, West end, Upper false capital.
83. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XVII.
84. NG, Back, Lower architrave, Right section.
85. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panels.
86. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
87. *AV*, IX.6.16, *śūrpaṁ pavitraṁ tushā*, 'winnowing basket to clear the husk'; *Ashṭā.*, V.1.26; *Manu.*, V.117.
88. *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, VI.57.
89. Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 56.
90. Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 51.
91. *AV*, IX.6.15, *ulūkhala musālani*; X.9.26, *ulūkhale musale*; *Śat. Br.*, I.1.4.7 (Basu, J., *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 62); *Bhūridatta Jāt.* No. 543; *Manu.*, V.117, *musalolūkhala.*
92. Cf. *adri* (*Śat. Br.*, I.1.4.6), *aśmā* (*M. Bhāshya*, I.3.1) and *peshaṇi* (*Manu.*, III.68) for grinding-stone.
93. Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 52.
94. *Amara.*, 41 (Cole Book ed., p. 174), *mūrchchhā-dāha-tṛshṇā-gharma-śrama nāsituṁ.* Cf. *Suśruta Saṁ.*, IV; XXIV, 82, *śoshadāha śrama-sweda-mūrchchhāghno vyajanānilah*, 'fanning arrests perspiration, removes the sense of fatigue and fainting fits and alleviates the burning, scorching and parched sensation (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 275).
95. Small Gateway, Middle architrave, Left section.
96. See Kala, S.C., *Terracotta Figurines from Kausambi*, pl. XXIII A and B.
97. *Sūchī Jāt.*, No. 387.
98. EG, South pillar, Inner face.
99. Cf. *Ashṭā.*, VI.3.59, *vivadha.*
100. Carrier's pole has also been mentioned in the *Bhūridatta Jāt.* No. 543.

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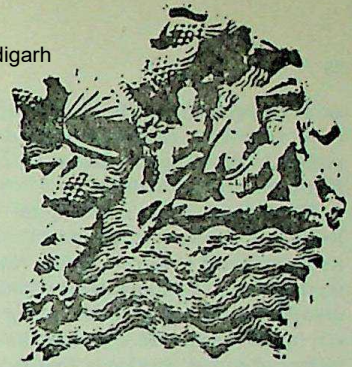
CHAPTER VIII

LAND AND WATER TRANSPORT

THERE is good evidence that Indians were familiar with various kinds of conveyance and methods of transport as early as the Harappā times. A toy-cart excavated from Mohen-jo-daro reveals the prototype of the present Indian bullock-cart.[1] Representations of bulls, boats and ships on the Indus seals have come to our notice.[2] From the examination of the skeletal remains, the presence of the horse and the elephant in Harappā times is also alluded to.[3] Vedic literature is full of innumerable references to different means of communication, particularly the chariot, the horse and the elephant. The Boghaz Kui Inscriptions of Asia Minor (*c.* 14th century B.C.) throw ample light on horse-riding and chariot-racing.[4] The horse, the elephant and the bullock appear in Mauryan art. But the earliest sculptural representation of the chariot is provided by the Śuṅga art available at Bhājā,[5] Bharhut,[6] Bodhagaya[7] and Sāñchī. Sāñchī sculptures provide us with several clear and close illustrations of the chariot against one each from Bhājā and Bodhagayā.

From the time of Pāṇini, two types of conveyance (*vāhana*) were known to Indians—one for land-transport[8] and another for water-transport.[9] Sāñchī sculptures depict both these types. Land-transport vehicles in Sāñchī art include the chariot and the bullock-cart, besides animals like the horse, the elephant, the camel and the bullock,[10] while vessels for water-transport include boats and ships.



LAND-TRANSPORTATION

The Chariot

It is not certain yet when and where the chariot first originated. Generally, scholars give credit for its origin to Sumeria,[11] while others believe in its, 'more or less, simultaneous appearance in Kassite Babylonia, 18th Dynasty Egypt, in the new kingdom of the Mittani and in India'.[12] However, the credit for the invention of spokes, the retention of two wheels against four and the use of the horse in place of the ass for yoking certainly goes to the Aryans.[13]

The development of chariot-making was at its zenith in Vedic times when there was a separate class of *rathakāras* (chariotwright) for its manufacture.[14] Certain excellent representations at Sāñchī give a very clear idea of the parts of a chariot (Pls. XI, LXVII, LXVIII).

From several representations of the chariot in Sāñchī sculpture, we may conclude that its open body had two wheels of many spokes,[15] and always employed two horses[16] (Figs. 31.1, 3, 4; Pls. XV, LXVII, LXVIII) except in a scene of *Viśvantara Jātaka*, where only for once four horses are yoked to it (Pl. XI).[17] Actually, the chariot drawn by two horses seems to have been more popular due to its utility. A four-horse-drawn chariot, on the other hand, appears to have been a

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royal or dignified vehicle, rarely in use by only kings and gods. Against innumerable references to two-horse chariots, ancient Indian literature and art afford evidence of only a few four-horse-drawn chariots.

We know that Sumerian chariots were drawn by asses.[18] References to chariots drawn by asses, mules and camels have also been found in ancient Indian literature.[19] But no such representation is noticeable in Sāñchī sculptures. The only draught animal employed for yoking to the chariot in Sāñchī art is the horse. This reflects the popularity of the animal for its better participation in civilized life. The horse seems to have totally replaced the use of the ass, the mule and other animals by the time of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas.

The chariot represented in Sāñchī art appears to have been a war-chariot in use exclusively by kings and uniform in shape and size.[20] Generally, it accommodates two passengers, one driver and the other the charioteer (*rathin*), but sometimes either the prince[21] or the *chaurī*-bearer[22] is also accommodated (Pl. XI).

We know from our ancient literature that the body of the chariot was well-decked with gold, adorned with standards and pennons, covered with gold nettings and fitted with bells.[23] It is a description which applies to the war-chariot. However, the reference to *pushpa-ratha*,[24] sport-chariot and *alaṅkṛtān rathān*[25] well-decorated ones is indicative of their being pleasantly adorned and comfortably furnished. In the *Jātakas*, chariots are described to have been fitted with comfortable cushions and hence were called *sukha-yānaka*.[26] It was, really, a conveyance for royalty and nobility. That the chariot was meant for pleasant trips is quite evident from the term *ratha* itself.[27] These were covered with cloths, blankets and leather probably in order to afford protection from sun and shower.[28] But the Sañchī specimen of the chariot is always open. Although the delineation is not very distinct, it appears to be decorated evidently with some incised projections along the edges of its body (Pl. XI). The chariot-driver used a stick like the one used now-a-days by cart-drivers (Pl. XI).[29]

The Cart[30]

There is only one representation of the bullock-cart in Sāñchī sculptures which shows two bullocks yoked to a two-wheeled cart. The body of the cart is shaded with a vaulted roofing supported on four poles on each side, apparently to shelter the passengers from the sun and rain[31] (Fig. 31.2; Pl. XLVI). The tails of the bullocks are tied on a side of their body with a rope probably to prevent them from flicking the dust and mud on the way and save the passengers from being besmeared with it.

This representation, accommodating three passengers, provides us with the typical and traditional form of the bullock-cart, which was used in India as far back as Harappan times[32] and is still in use in different parts of our country, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Sindh (now in Pakistan). Illustrations of a bullock-cart are also found in the sculptures of Bharhut[33] and Mathurā.[34]

Although we find only one representation of the bullock-cart in Sāñchī sculpture, it does not mean that the use of the cart was less popular in the country.

The Horse

An animal like a horse has ever been an important companion and faithful servant of man. As we have just discussed, the horse and the bull have always been used in drawing vehicles and thus helped human transportation. Of them, the horse figures as the more useful one, most probably owing to its magestic appearance and fast movement. Horse-riding and horse-breaking are very old practices of India. Innumerable references in ancient Indian literature make it clear that horse-racing and chariot-racing were good means of Aryan recreation.[35] The race, the race-course and the horse participating in it were particularly termed in Vedic literature as *āji*, *kāshṭhā* and *viśpalā*, respectively.[36]

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The antiquity of horse-taming in India is evident from the Boghaz Kui Inscriptions of 1380 B.C., where a book on horse-training has been discovered. On this evidence, certain scholars are of opinion that the westward movement of the Aryans could be responsible for the introduction of horse-breeding in Western Asia.[37] Horse-breaking was considered an important art in the epic period, and Rāma was conversant with it.[38] A horse-ride was known as *aśvāhanikā* in Jain literature.[39]

From Vedic times onwards, the horse forms the cavalry, a separate wing of the army. Clearly it was ridden first and yoked later in the story of its domestication.[40]

Sāñchī sculptures represent the horse as being variously employed in human service—for drawing a chariot, forming cavalry in a military procession and carrying passengers on its back. In the scenes of the war of the relics[41] and the royal processions[42] (Pls. XV, LXVI) the horse makes up the cavalry. In cases where an independent ride is represented, the horses appear in pairs mostly in standing posture but occasionally sitting along with a rider on their back.

Plumed and caparisoned horses with their riders have been used as striking motifs to enrich the false-capitals of all the gateways[43] (Pl. XLIII). Four double-faced horses with their riders fill the gaps between the *śūchīs* on the middle architrave of the Northern Gateway. Other excellent illustrations of the horse have been represented in the scenes of the Great Renunciation (Pl. XIV).[44]

That the horses were harnessed with rich trappings is evident from the Sāñchī panels. Except once,[45] the horse in Sāñchī sculptures is everywhere shown as saddled. Among the trappings, the saddle, the strap, the bridle, the rein, the stirrup, the head-dress and the jewellery are noteworthy (Figs. 32.1-6).[46]

The saddle of Sāñchī art appears to have been a cloth-covering filled with some cushion material, possibly cotton or leather.[47] Pāṇini and Patañjali were well aware of a piece of cloth *kanthā* which was used as a covering for the seat (*āstaraṇa*). These *kanthās* were prepared with hard labour and skill. Different parts of the country were famous for preparing this item.[48] Still in modern times, it is used as bed-covering, generally known as *katharī* in U.P., where it is made of old clothes. Different pieces of cloth are kept layer upon layer and then the designs are made by stitching them with the thread of different colours. Saddles in Sāñchī bas-reliefs are also a sort of such *kanthās*. It was well decorated with designed borders (Figs. 32.4, 5). The saddle was obviously meant to provide comfort to the rider. To keep the saddle in its place, an ornamented breast-band (*taṅga*) was used and another leather strap decorated with a line of rosettes was tied round the body of the horse passing from below the tail and the neck (Fig. 32.3). Its two ends were joined together with a hook in front, which in some cases was shaped like the *Śrīvatsa* ornament.[49] It might possibly be an armour, as mentioned in the *Jātakas*.[50]

That the horses were bridled is distinctly shown in Sāñchī sculptures, but whether the bridle was with or without the bit cannot be said with certainty. Arrian describes the Indian bridle without the bit.[51] Apparently, it was a circular leather strap fitted around the mouth of the horse to prevent it from opening it. Today, the bridle consists of a small groomed iron-bar or chain which is put in the mouth and tied with a cord to the head of the horse. Probably, Arrian is right to suggest that the mouth-strap retained the nails horizontally, fixed in the inner side of the strap and when tied, served the same purpose. A forehead band of the same hard material and of different designs, fastened with leather straps round the cheeks and forehead, also formed part of it. This structure of leather straps, decorated with flowery designs at its joints, was attached to a double rope serving as the rein (Figs. 32.1, 2).

Small pricks of iron, pointing inwards very sharply, inserted inside the strap around the mouth were used as substitutes for the bit. Thus the animal was kept in control, as is done today with the help of iron bits passed through his mouth. It does

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not mean that the bit was not known to Indians in Sāñchī times. Clear evidence of the bridle with a bit is available in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. It has been applied to stags,[52] goats[53] (Pl. XLV) and lions,[54] but it was not used in the bridle of horses.

A few rather rare examples of the Indian stirrup are to be found on the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas. As many as four representations of stirrup have been found in the medallions on the ground railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2. Two centaurs each carrying a woman on his back,[55] a she-centaur carrying a man on her back[56] (Fig. 40.2) and an ordinary horse with rider[57] (Fig. 32.5; Pl. LXXXI) have been represented as equipped with a stirrup. A few examples of stirrup are also available on the panels on the Great Stūpa. Of the four horse-riders in between the uprights of the Northern Gateway, the one on the extreme right, executed both in front and in rear, contains a clear representation of the stirrup. Another representation of the stirrup may be noticed in the case of the horse-rider seen behind the procession on the Western Gateway.[58]

The fact that only a few representations of the stirrup are to be met with at Sāñchī leads one to conclude that either it was not very popular or that it was just beginning to come into vogue. But it was in India that the stirrup came into use for the first time, as evidenced by its representation in the early sculptures of Sāñchī,[59] Bhājā,[60] Pītalkhorā[61] and Mathurā.[62] On this basis, both Marshall and Coomaraswamy opine that it was here in India that the stirrup was introduced for the first time in the whole world.[63]

The stirrup represented at Sāñchī seems to be a strap either of cloth, or, more suitably, of leather with both its ends hanging downwards over the knees of the rider. Its function was to keep the rider safely in position during the swift movement of the animal.

The head-dress should also be included among the trappings of the horse represented on Sāñchī sculptures. No doubt, its use was simply ornamental to give a more dignified appearance to the animal, whereas other parts of the harness had a more utilitarian role to play. It was, as it is today, composed either of feathers[64] (Fig. 32.5) or of fly-whisk[65] (Figs. 32.1, 2), attached to the leather band over the forehead. Sometimes horses were also decorated with heavy necklaces around their neck.[66]

We must not fail to notice the whips in the hands of the riders[67] which were apparently brandished with two strings and seem to be made of leather straps, as is the case in our own time.

The horse-ride, as a means of conveyance, has been a very long and popular practice in India.[68] It is quite evident from Sāñchī sculptures where we find not only men but even women travelling on horseback.[69]

The horses represented on the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas appear to have been imported from Central and Western Asia. We know from the *Mahābhārata* that Persia, Kamboja and Vālhīka countries were noted for their strong and swift horses. At the coronation of Yudhishṭhira, people of these countries had brought many precious presents including horses of excellent breed.[70] The *Rāmāyaṇa* also speaks of the countries of Kamboja, Vālhīka and Vanāyu as famous for horses.[71] Kauṭilya's classification of horses, according to their natural habits, also confirms the popularity of Kamboja, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Āraṭṭa, Vanāyu, Vālhīka, Papeya and Tītala countries.[72] Among other terms, Bhāsa also uses Kamboja for the horse.[73] It also indicates the association of the animal with the land of Kamboja. Periplus informs us about the import of horses from Persia, Arabia and Egypt.[74] Horses of Indian breed were small in size and generally used for carrying loads. Horses used for riding in India even today belong to some foreign stock. These references, therefore, suggest that the import of foreign horses into India is an old practice, and Sāñchī representations seem to support the view.

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The Elephant

Being a symbol of the Buddha's birth, the elephant figures frequently in Sāñchī art and is represented in a variety of attitudes and postures. It has a role as forming a wing of the army[75] (Pls. XV, XVI). It is featured in royal processions[76] (Pls. XVI, XVII) and is often in use for joy-rides[77] (Pls. L, LIV). It flanks the goddess Lakshmī, showering water over her[78] (Pls. XXI-XXIV). Sometimes it appears in its wild form in a jungle (Pl. XLVIII) as in the *Shaddanta Jātaka* scenes[79] and sometimes it is grazing in a lotus pond[80] (Pl. XLIX). In several cases, it serves as a decorative piece on capitals[81] and false-capitals.[82] There are cases where a creeper spouts out of the mouth of the animal.[83] It is also shown as engaged in trampling down a convict.[84] Above all, the animal was important as a means of conveyance.

Being readily available, the elephant was tamed and variously used by the Aryans after their arrival in this country. Since it was very costly to keep an elephant, the animal was, from the beginning, kept in the service of either a king, a royal person or a rich man. As a matter of fact, the elephant has always been a symbol of sovereignty, and the art of riding an elephant formed part of the education of princes in ancient India.[85]

The elephant executed on the panels of Sāñchī stūpas confirms the age-old tradition of its association with royalty. In the scenes of the war of the relics the animal, which is engaged in warfare, carries royal warriors on its back.[86] In royal processions, too, it has on its back either a king, his viceroy or a prince.[87]

The animal as a means of royal conveyance is best illustrated in the scene showing Aśoka with his queen visiting the Lord Buddha (represented as *Bodhi*-tree) for worship. The royal elephant with all of its paraphernalia of decoration and saddlery is depicted in a seated posture, apparently to enable the king to dismount (Pl. XVII). Similar well-decked elephants serving the rich and royalty are also seen in scenes from *Viśvantara Jātaka* (Pl. XI) and water-sport and on the capitals and false-capitals. The association of the animal with royalty is to be judged by the presence of an umbrella-bearer who occasionally secures his own body with a rope of the girth in order to keep both his hands free to hold aloft the heavy umbrella which is a royal insignia (Fig. 33.4; Pl. L).[88]

Three out of the four elephants each standing between uprights on the Northern Gateway are double-faced, well-caparisoned and with a driver and a standard-bearer on their back.[89] The fourth one now graces the Archaeological Gallery of the National Museum, New Delhi (Pl. XLII). Other representations of elephants carrying passengers are found on the vaulted ends of architraves on the Eastern Gateway and medallions on the ground rail-pillars of Stūpa No. 2.[90]

A representation of the elephant giving a ride to the celestial gods has also been found in Sāñchī. Indra mounted on his elephant Airāvata appears on a panel of the Southern Gateway[91] (Pl. LXIX).

The capitals of the Northern and Eastern Gateways are composed of a set of four elephants. The elephants on the Northern Gateway are seen with only their forequarters. They carry a single rider, sitting just on the head, sometimes leaning onwards with both his hands on the head of the animal for support and in some other cases holding the goad in an easy pose of relaxation. Those depicted on the Eastern Gateway show their full body to the visitor and each carries a driver and a standard-bearer. Every detail of their trappings is very clear. The long and plain saddle is secured with a thick rope the tie-knots of which are very realistic (Fig. 33.3).

The elephant, represented as a means of conveyance at Sāñchī, is generally well-harnessed, saddled, girthed and bejewelled. We notice the absence of the *howdāḥ* on the back of the elephant represented in the Sāñchī sculptures.[92] This *howdāḥ* in later periods became a necessary equipment for a war-elephant. But, as the Sāñchī representations reveal, a very

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rich saddlery in place of this *howdāḥ* appears to have been used in elephant-ride.

Sculptural evidence shows that the body of an elephant was first covered with a long and rectangular piece of thick cloth (*jhūla*), which was sometimes plain[93] (Fig. 33.3) and sometimes embroidered (Fig. 33.4).[94] It was left hanging down so as to cover the whole body except the feet of the animal. In some cases, above this covering another small saddle full of some padding material and covered with some designed clothing was also used to make the seat more comfortable.[95] The covering was then secured with a strong girth (*kakshyā*).[96] Bells were either attached to the bottom front corners of the long covering or suspended by a rope.[97] Another rope, sometimes used by the attendant for securing his own body in order to keep both his hands free for holding either the heavy umbrella or the standard, should also be included in the list of saddlery equipments.

The animal, mostly used in royal service, was lavishly adorded with jewellery and ornaments which included a pair of long hanging ear pendants and a forehead-band. The ear ornament appears to have been made of bead-strings with spacers at regular intervals. It has always been shown suspended on the forehead-band and hanging down over the ear of the elephant. The forehead-band (*kshura-pramālā*) consisted of a line of embossed rosettes, tasselled with the pendants of crescent design alternated with those of a different conical shape (Figs. 33.3, 4). Besides, the trunk of the elephant was also painted with ornamental drawings.[98]

Other elephant-equipment included the goad, the umbrella and the standard with a long banner. The goad was an iron rod with a pointed corner, attached to another pointed projection turned towards the handle (Fig. 33.4; Pls. XV, XVI). On every panel of Sāñchī sculptures, the goad is always kept by the driver, sitting just on the neck of the elephant. The umbrella or the standard kept by an attendant, always sitting behind, was the symbol of royal insignia, and it helps us in identifying the passenger. And on this ground, it is easy to conclude that in ancient times, an elephant-ride was the special prerogative of a king or a nobleman.

The above description of an elephant's trappings seems to conform to the list made out by Kauṭilya, who enumerates the goad and the stick as tools, and the banner, the necklace, the covering and the saddle as ornaments of an elephant.[99] The golden coverlets and the golden girths find mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[100] also.

The Camel

The camel also figures as a means of conveyance in Sāñchī sculptures. Though very few, its representations are very clear and adequate to indicate the use of the camel in the days gone by. The Great Stūpa at Sāñchī provides two representations of a camel-ride.[101] These are two sets, each consisting of two seated camels. Each animal has only one rider, sitting in between its two humps (Fig. 33.1; Pl. XLIV). One of these animals has a woman-rider.[102]

Another representation of a moving camel with its rider is found on a panel of Stūpa No. 2 (Pl. XLVII).[103] Foucher describes it to be two-humped animal.[104] Marshall also says that 'the camel portrayed at Sāñchī, both on Stūpa No. 2 and Stūpa No. 1, is the two-humped Bactrian beast, not the single humped Arabian species'.[105] But due to the absence of the long hair on its neck and knees and also due to its features and the saddle, the animal appears to belong to the single humped Arabian stock which we see today in India. On the contrary, the two-humped camels sculptured on the Great Stūpa mentioned above have long hair on their neck and knees and two humps on their back. Apparently, they do not belong to the Arabian stock. They seem to belong to a Bactrian breed. This fact makes it clear that the animal was imported in ancient times.[106]

The representation of the animal in the bas-reliefs of the

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Sāñchī stūpas shows that it was harnessed with a rein of ropes, attached to small pieces of pointed wooden nails which were tied at the nostrils with another small piece of a rope passing through them. Such reins with nostril-pins are still in use. Besides the bridle, nothing appears to have been included in the trappings of the camel. However, the riders held with one of their hands the reins and the lashes with the other.

A camel-ride has been a popular practice in India for long. As far back as Pāṇini's time the animal was used as a means of conveyance.[107] In the *Mahābhāshya*[108] and the *Mahāniddesa*,[109] references to camel-carts have been found. Kālidāsa also knows of the use of camels as carriers.[110]

The Bull

In transportation today, the bull is used only for drawing carts. But in ancient times the animal was also used for carrying a passenger on its back. As early as Pāṇini,[111] the bull-ride was known to India. Bull (*go*) was one of the six animals drawing vehicles (*yāna*) enumerated in the *Mahāniddesa*.[112] In Hindu mythology, Nandī, a bull, is well-known as Śiva's favourite carrier. The bull is described as carrier of Triśirā, one of the commanders of Rāvaṇa.[113] The popularity of the bull-ride even upto the beginning of the Christian era is quite evident from its clear representations in Sāñchī sculpture.

In Sāñchī bas-reliefs, the bull has been represented serving both the purposes of drawing the vehicle as well as carrying the passenger on its back. The animal appears as a motif in a set of two sitting Indian bulls, each with one rider on its back. The motif fills the false-capitals on the Southern,[114] Northern[115] and Eastern[116] Gateways and on the Small Gateway.[117] The humped-bull represented at Sāñchī bears almost the same features as those engraved on the seals of Mohen-jo-daro in the past, and those found in Punjab and Hariyāṇā today. Thus, it depicts the typical Indian breed which has been very popular in the country through a long span of time.

To make the ride a pleasure, the bull was also decorated like the horse and the elephant with trappings and jewellery. The trapping mainly included the nozzle-strips which after passing through the nostrils were fastened around the head. A rope was attached to it as a rein. In northern India, similar bull-trappings continue to be in use. Another noticeable feature of the Sāñchī bull is its tail. The end of the tail is held up with a rope, doubtless, as has already been said, to prevent dust being flicked into the faces of the passengers. Lashes were also included among the trappings of the bull represented on the Sāñchī stūpas. As against the stick of today, we notice the riders on the Eastern Gateway having lashes in their hands.

Sāñchī sculptures represent the practice of adorning the bull in ancient times. Broad necklaces (*graiveyaka*) of many pearl-strings with spacers not only make the animal attractive, but also suggest that it was a favourite means of conveyance even with the rich.

Other Animals

Besides the animals described above, bridled or winged stags,[118] goats[119] (Pl. XLV) and winged-lions[120] have also been portrayed as the means of conveyance in Sāñchī sculptures. But we do not find any corroborative evidence of stag or goat-riding in ancient times. Lion-breaking seems to be rather unrealistic. It may, however, symbolise the supremacy of the human will over the most fierce animals like lions and griffins. Probably, the same idea finds expression in the form of the Goddess Durgā riding a lion.

From the above, it is evident that different animals were used for human transportation and these were well-decked to make the journey comfortable and pleasing. We must not forget to note that not only men but women also enjoyed animal-rides in ancient times.

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WATER-TRANSPORTATION

Boats and Ships

Boats and ships have been used for water-transport since long. It will not be wrong to say that water-transport was the first means of transport learnt by man. We come across many words denoting the boat and its parts in the earliest literature of the Aryans.[121] A reference to ferry-charges in a *Jātaka* story[122] also confirms the use of the boat for carrying passengers across rivers.

Archaeological representations of the boat and the ship are provided by two seals from Mohen-jo-daro[123] and by many Āndhra-coins of the second century A.D.[124] This confirms the continuity of the boat as a means of conveyance in India.

Two panels of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī represent the boat. A very simple and small boat is shown in the scene, labelled by Marshall as 'Buddha's Miraculous Walking on Waters' (Pl. LVII).[125] On this panel the trees are shown battered by the flooded river in which a small canoe, carrying three passengers—all ascetics, has been depicted in the middle of the river. The two flanking occupants are apparently sailing the boat since each of them holds an oar. This open boat appears to have been made of wooden planks joined together by clamps which are quite evident on its exterior body. One of its corners is pointed and high (Fig. 31.6).[126]

Another representation of the boat at Sāñchī appears to be very elaborate and sophisticated. It figures on the Western Gateway (Pl. XXXIII).[127] At present the panel is partly broken at the bottom, but the drawing of the whole panel is found in Maisey's *Sāñchī and Its Remains*, plate XXI, fig. 2 and in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate XXXI, fig. 1. It is a comparatively large vessel with its front in the form of a prancing griffin, while the stern has the shape of a fish's tail adorned with a garland. An oar is shown hanging in a socket near the back. The body of the vessel contains an open, flat and square accommodation with the so-called Buddhist railing at the base and another at the flat roofing. The roof is in the form of a small canopy supported by four corner pillars, each with an outer bracket, joining it to the roof. On the roof, another small accommodation with triangular covering is visible (Fig. 31.5). The ceiling is adorned with hanging garlands. Beneath, there is a raised round object with two attendants, one holding an umbrella and the other a fly-whisk.

Although the representation has been given one or the other religious significance[128] by different scholars, it seems to portray the fashionable and highly interesting boat-sport in ancient times. No doubt, such a decorated and well-furnished ship was used by royalty or rich persons for crossing rivers. Even today we find small boats with a comfortable seating accommodation and ornamented covering, being plied in rivers and lakes. Bigger boats with the superstructure of a house with ventilated rooms and open verandahs, available in the lake of Dal at Śrīnagar (Kashmir), are also not to be passed by.

These two illustrations of the boat in Sāñchī reliefs represent two different kinds of the boat—*nau*,[129] an ordinary small boat and *mahānau*,[130] a large boat or ship. Boats, well-equipped and decked with banners, bells and coverings, have been mentioned frequently in ancient literature[131] and these have been classified according to their shapes and sizes.[132] The Sāñchī specimen, therefore, seems to maintain a long tradition and affords a link of continuity between the prehistoric[133] and the most modern variety of the boat.

The small and open boat of Sāñchī represents the category used by the common people, whereas the other with an ornamental body and gorgeous accommodation appears to have been used by royalty or rich personages. The presence of an umbrella-bearer and a *chaurī*-holder bear witness to its association with royal dignity.

Thus from a close examination of the sculptures available on the stūpas at Sāñchī, we come to the conclusion that besides travelling on foot, people in ancient times were conversant with various other modes of conveyance.

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REFERENCES

1. See Marshall, J. (ed.) *Mohen-jo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. 3, pl. CLIV.10.
2. For boats and ships, see Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, figs. 1 and 2.
3. See Pusalkar, A.D., 'Horse in Proto-Historic Period', *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XX-XXI, 1960-61, pp. 237-41; Marshall, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 653, pl. CLXII, fig. 9. The popular use of the horse even in the pre-Harappan age in Central and Western Asia has also been alluded to through some archaeological evidence. See Singh, S.D., 'The horse in pre-Aryan India', *JUPHS*, Vol. X (NS), pt. I-II, pp. 65-66.
4. Jairazbhoy, R.A., *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 13.
5. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 24.
6. See Cunningham, A, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XIII.3 and XXV.4.
7. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., op. cit., fig. 61.
8. *Ashṭā.*, VIII 4.8, *vāhanamāhitat.*
9. Ibid., VII.3.58, *uda-vāhana.* Cf. *Chulla Seṭṭhi Jāt.*, *thala-patha-kammikā* and *jala-patha-kammikā.*
10. *Mahāniddesa* speaks of six kinds of animal vehicles (*yāna*), viz., *hatti* (elephant), *go* (bull), *aja* (goat), *meḍḍaka* (ram), *oṭṭha* (camel) and *khara* (ass), vide Majumdar, G.P., 'Conveyances', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, 1935-36, No. 2, p. 277.
11. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 37.
12. Singh, S.D., *Ancient Indian Warfare*, p. 26.
13. Ibid., cf. *Śat. Br.*, V.1.1.3, for chariot racing and *RV*, I.813; I.116.15; VIII.80.8 for winners and prizes vide Gyani, Shivadatta, *Vedakālina Samāja*, p. 344.
14. *Vāj. Saṁ.*, XIII, vide Basu, J., *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 72.
15. Cf. *RV*, VIII.5.29, *ubhā chakrā.*
16. See SG, Front, Middle architrave; SG, Back, Lower architrave; SG, West pillar, Front, Middle panel; NG, West pillar, Front, Middle panel; NG, East pillar, Inner, Middle panel; EG, North pillar, Inner, Middle panel; EG. Front, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Middle architrave; Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 27a.
17. NG, Front, Lower architrave.
18. Goel, S.R., *Viśva kī Prāchīna Sabhyatāyen*, Pt. I, p. 68; see Samuel, Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 5th figure following p. 160, showing chariot with driver yoked to four asses.
19. *RV*, VIII.6.48, refers to chariots drawn by four camels. Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā in a chariot drawn by asses (*kharaiḥ yuktaiḥ*, *Rāmā.*, III. 49.19). *Rāma.*, II. 70.29, refers to hundreds of chariots yoked to camels, bullocks, horses and asses (*ushṭra-go-aśva-kharaiḥ yojayitvā*). Dhṛtarāshṭra's chariot was also drawn by mules (*yānaṁ aśvatarīṁ yuktaiḥ*, *Mbh.*, V. 84.12). *Mbh.*, XIII 118.14; I.144.7 refers to chariots drawn by camels and mules (*ushṭrāśvatara yuktāni yānānīcha vahantimāṁ*). *Kāśikā* on *Mahābhāshya*, IV.3.122 also refers to chariots yoked to camels and asses (*aushṭra* and *gardabha ratha*), vide Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 235; *Chullavagga*, IV.2.12 to '*śataṁ asvatarī rathā*', a hundred chariots yoked to mules, *Jāt.* No. 355 to *assatarī rathā*, vide Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 150; *Divyāvadāna* (*Koṭi karṇāvadāna*, p. 4) to '*gardabha yāna*' a vehicle drawn by asses.
20. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, three kinds of chariot have been mentioned, the utility car (*aupa vāhya ratha*, II.39.10), the war-chariot (*saṅgrāmika ratha*, III. 65.6) and the sport-car (*pushpa ratha*, II.26.15); *Artha-śāstra* (II.33) refers to *deva-ratha*, *pushpa-ratha* (for marriage, etc.), *saṅgrāmika-ratha*, *pariyānika ratha* (for ordinary journeys), *para-purābhiyānika* (for destroying the forts of enemy) and *vainayika ratha* (for training the horses).
21. SG, Back, West end, Lower lintel.
22. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel; NG, Front, Lower architrave.
23. *Rāmā.*, II 92.33; III.49.19; V. 45.3; VI.51.26; III.22.15. Golden chariots have also been mentioned in *Mbh.*, III.18.1; IV. 30.16.
24. *Artha.*, II.33; *Rāmā.*, II.26.15.
25. *Saundarananda*, I.30.
26. *Jāt.*, 175, 202, 339 vide Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 55, f.n. 5.
27. '*Ramante asmin ratha iti*', *Mahābhāshya* I.2.25. See Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, p. 234, f.n. 2.
28. Ibid.
29. NG, Front, Lower architrave.
30. *Go-ratha*, *Rāmā.*, II.83.16; *śakaṭa*, *Ashṭā.*, IV.4.80; *śakaṭī*, *RV*, X.146.3; *Rāmā.*, I.31.17; *pravahaṇa*, *Mṛchchha.*, IV.23.
31. SG, East pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
32. A terracotta of the toycart has been found from Mohen-jo-daro. See Marshall, *Mohen-jo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. 3, pl. CLIV.10.
33. Now kept in Indian Museum, Calcutta, Exhibit No. 95, see Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XXXIV.1.
34. See Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, fig. 31; Smith, V.A., *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathurā*, pls. XV & XIX.
35. *Śat. Br.*, V.1.1.3; *Ait. Br.*, II. 9.1, vide Basu, J., *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 53.

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36. *AV*, VI.92.2; *RV*, VIII.80.8; I.116.5.
37. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 105, vide Singh, S.D., *Ancient Indian Warfare*, p. 26.
38. *Rāmā.*, II.1.28
39. *Uttarādhyayana Tikā*, III, p. 103 vide Jain, J.C., *Āgama Sāhltya men Bhāratiya Jivana*, p. 103.
40. Singh, S.D., 'The Horse in pre-Aryan India', *JUPHS*, Vol. X (NS), pt. I-II, pp. 65-66.
41. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Middle architrave.
42. SG, Middle architrave; NG, East pillar, Inner face; EG, North pillar, Inner face; EG, South pillar, Front face; Stūpa 2, Pillar No. 27b.
43. SG, Upper and Middle false-capitals; NG, Back, Lower false-capitals; WG, Middle false-capitals; Stūpa 3; Small Gateway, Middle false-capitals.
44. EG, Front, Middle architrave; SG, Back, East end, Upper lintel.
45. Small Gateway, Front, East end, Middle false-capital.
46. Modern nomenclatures to them are as under—
Jina for saddle, *Lagāma* for bridle and rein, *Kalangī* for head-dress, *Raqāba* for stirrup and *Zerabanda* for a strap connecting the mouth-band and chest-band. Ancient nomenclatures—*Khalina* (bridle), *Āstarana* (*jhūla*), *Vatka* and *Paryāya* (saddle), *Talasaraka* (*taṅga*) and *Vadhra* (stirrup).
47. *Mahābhāshya*, VI.2.124, vide Agnihotri, P.D., op. cit., p. 202.
48. Agnihotri, P.D., *Pūrvajalkalina Bhārata*, p. 201.
49. See NG, double faced horse-riders in between the uprights on the middle architrave.
50. *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545, *gāthā* 22, '*suvaṇṇo urachchhado*', gold breast-plate.
51. Arrian, *Indica*, XVI, pp. 220-21 vide Sastri, K.N., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 109, f.n. 2.
52. See SG, Lower false-capitals, NG, Upper false-capitals.
53. See NG, Middle false-capitals, EG, Back, Lower false-capitals.
54. See NG, Back, Middle false-capitals, EG, Back, Upper false-capitals WG, Back, Middle false-capitals.
55. See Stūpa No. 2, Ground rail-pillar No. 7b and 82a.
56. Ibid., No. 81b.
57. Ibid., No. 40b.
58. WG, Back, Upper architrave.
59. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 152, f.n. 3.
60. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 25; 'Six Reliefs from Mathura', *Bulletin of the Boston Museum*, Aug. 1926, No. 144.
61. See Bachhofar, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, pl. 72 lower left.
62. See Smith, V.A., *The Jaina Stupa & Other Antiquities at Mathurā*, pl. XV.
63. See above f.n. 59 and 60, respectively.
64. See Stūpa No. 2, Ground rail pillar No. 40b.
65. See NG, West pillar, Lower panel; NG, Back, East end, Lower false capital; SG, Back, Lower architrave, right half section.
66. NG, Back, East end, Lower false-capital.
67. WG, Front, Middle false-capitals; Small Gateway, Front, Middle false-capitals.
68. Popular horse-riding may be traced as far back as the *Ṛigveda* (V.61.2, 3) wherein the horse-ride, rein and the art of riding have been mentioned (Gyani, Shivadatta, *Vedakālina Samāja*, p. 237).
69. SG, Front, West end, Middle false-capital. Of the pair, one horse has on its back a woman-rider. Other contemporary examples of a woman riding the horse come from the inner angle of the verandah at Bhājā (vide Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 25) and on a fragment of the coping from Bharhut (Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, pl. XXII, No. 60).
70. Motichandra, *Geographical and Economical Studies in Mahabharata—Upayana parva*, p. 35.
71. *Rāmā.*, 1.6.22.
72. *Artha.*, II.30.
73. *Karṇabhāra*, I.13.
74. Chakraborti, H., *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 259.
75. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Middle & Lower architraves.
76. WG, Back, Upper architrave; EG, North pillar, Inner face, Middle panel; EG, South pillar, Front face, bottom panel; EG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section; Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 27b.
77. NG, East pillar, bottom panel; SG, West end, Middle lintel; Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 27a; Small Gateway, Back, Lower lintels.
78. SG, Upper architrave, Middle section; NG, Front, East end, Upper & Lower dies; NG, Back, West end, Lower die; EG, South end, Upper die and North end, Lower die; WG, Front, North end, Lower die; Stūpa No. 2, Ground rail pillar Nos. 1b and 71a; Small Gateway, East end, Upper die.
79. NG, Back, Upper architrave; WG, Front, Lower architrave; SG, Back, Middle architrave.
80. NG, Back, Upper lintels; EG, Front, Middle lintels.
81. NG and EG.
82. SG, Back, Lower false capitals; WG, Front, Lower false-capitals.
83. EG, South pillar, Outer face; Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 3b.
84. Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 1b.
85. Udayana, the king of Vatsa Janapada was famous for elephant drive.
86. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Middle architrave.
87. NG, West pillar, Inner face; EG, North pillar, Inner face; EG, South pillar, Front face; Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 27b

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88. WG, Front, North end, Lower false-capital; Small Gateway, Back, Lower lintels.
89. NG, between Lower and Middle architraves.
90. Pillar Nos. 11a, 75b, 76a, 77b and 80.
91. SG, West pillar, Front, Lower panel.
92. Dr. N.P. Joshi has mistaken housing or *howdāḥ* for the standard along with the flaring banner attached to it being kept by the standard-bearer with both his hands (*Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, p. 97, fig. 250). Plate LXVIII of this work makes the point quite clear.
93. EG, North end capital.
94. WG, North end, Lower false-capital.
95. SG, Back, West end, Lower false-capital.
96. See EG, capital, North end.
97. NG & EG, capitals; WG, Front, Lower false-capitals.
98. WG, North end, Lower lintel. Cf. *Rāmā.*, III.15.15.
99. *Artha.*, II.32.17-18, *aṅkuśa-veṇu-yantrādikaṁ-upakaraṇaṁ vaijayantī-kshura-pramālā-āstaraṇa-kuthā-ādikaṁ.*
100. *Rāmā.*, III.52.30, *kāñchanī kakshyā* and *kāñchanī kāñchī.*
101. EG, Back, Middle false-capitals.
102. EG, Back, South end, Middle false-capital.
103. Stūpa No. 2, Ground rail-pillar No. 66c.
104. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 3, description of plate No. LXXXVI.
105. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 137.
106. Similar two-humped camels but without long hair on their neck and knees are also seen on the 'Black Obelisk' of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) bringing tributes to the Assyrian monarch. See George Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, pl. 28b.
107. *Ashṭā.*, VI.2.40, *ushṭra-sādī*, camel rider.
108. *Mahābhāshya*, IV.3.120, *ushṭra-ratha*; IV 3.122, *aushṭra-ratha* (Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālīna Bhārata*, pp. 293, 235).
109. *Oṭṭha yāna*, Majumdar, G.P., 'Conveyances', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1935-36, p. 277.
110. *Raghu.*, V.32.
111. *Ashṭā.*, VI.2.41, *go sāda*, bull-ride; *go sādin*, bull-rider. See Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 154.
112. Majumdar, G.P., 'Conveyances', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, 1935-36, No. 2, p. 277.
113. *Rāmā.*, VI.59.19.
114. SG, Back, Upper false-capitals.
115. NG, Front, Lower false-capitals.
116. EG, Front, Upper false-capitals.
117. Stūpa No. 3, Front, Upper false-capitals.
118. SG, Lower false-capitals; NG, Upper false-capitals.
119. NG, Back, Middle false-capitals; EG, Back, Lower false-capitals.
120. NG, Front, Middle false-capitals; EG, Back, Upper false-capitals; WG, Back, Middle false-capitals.
121. *RV*, X.116.5, *śatāritra nāva*, ship with hundred oars; I.182.5, *plava*, a boat; *Śat. Br.*, II.3.3.5, *nāvika*, boatman; ibid., *naumaṇḍa*, anchor (Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 45); *Ashṭā.*, V. 4.99, *nau*, the boat; III 2.184, *aritra*, the oar; IV.4.7, *nāvika*, the boatman (Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 156); *Artha.*, II.28, *śāsaka*, captain; *niyāmaka*, steersman or driver (cf. *Suppāraka Jāt.*); *dātra grāhaka*, sickle holder; *raśmi grāhaka*, rope holder and *utsechaka*, a man to pour out the water; *Mbh.*, I 141.5; III. 166.2; III.169.3 (cr. ed.).
122. *Nāva titthe*, *Jāt.*, III.330. See Agrawala, V.S., op. cit., p. 156.
123. See Motichandra, op. cit., figs. 1 and 2.
124. Ibid., figs. 3 ka, kha, ga, gha and ña.
125. EG, South pillar, Front, Lower panel.
126. Cf. similar representations from Bodhagayā (Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture de Bodhagayā*, pl. XLVIII.3; Cunningham, A., *Mahābodhi*, pl. VIII.9) and Bharhut (Cunningham, A., *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXXIV.2).
127. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
128. Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 144; Maisey, F.C., *Sāñchī & Its Remains*, p. 59; Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 163.
129. *Rāmā.*, I.24.2; II.52.9.
130. *Rāmā.*, V.57.4.
131. *Rāmā.*, II.89.11, 12; *Mbh.*, I. 141.5.
132. *Rāmā.*, I.24.2; II.52.9; V.57.4; *Harivaṁśa*, II.88.63; *Aṅgaviḍḍā* (Agrawala, V.S., Intro. *Sārthavāha* by Motichandra, p. 9); *Śilappadikāram*, XIII.2.175-80; *Yuktikalpataru* (Mookerjee, R.K., *A History of Indian Shipping*, pp. 26 & 29).
133. See Motichandra, op. cit., fig. 2.

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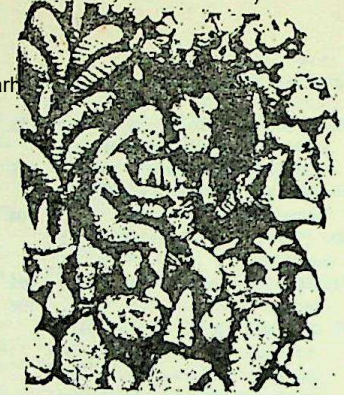

CHAPTER IX

PASTIMES AND RECREATIONS

SINCE the very beginning of human civilization pastimes and recreation have been indispensable to man. In his fleeting moments of leisure, man has been amusing himself with different kinds of revelries either individually or with a companion or in a group. These pastimes and recreation have been an integral part of man's life in different ages. Sometimes these exploits were publicly displayed and, therefore, these were termed as *samājas*. These *samājas* have been mentioned in both literature[1] and epigraphs.[2] In Sāñchī art, too, the contemporary society has been so manifestly represented through the medium of stone that we are suddenly struck by the exquisite execution of different kinds of recreations in it. Most remarkable of them are those displaying hunting, *śālabhañjikā* (a garden sport of women), picnic, water-sport, drinking, dance, music, wrestling and riding.

HUNTING

There is no doubt about the fact that in the prehistoric period man lived on roots, fruits and flesh. Palaeolithic and prehistoric cave-paintings bear witness to it. *Mṛgayā* or hunting was a living necessity in those days. When this necessity became a pastime is not definitely known. However, by the time of the *Ṛgveda*, it was an established pastime which not only enhanced one's energy, but also helped acquire flesh, horns, skin, bones, etc. Wild animals were killed for food, for recreation and for protection of domestic animals.[3]

Hunting was a good means of recreation for kings. It is clear from the *Rāmāyaṇa* which depicts Rāma as going for hunting and declaring it to be a popular pastime.[4] According to Kauṭilya, hunting leads to physical exercise and trains one how to aim at a moving and stationary body and provides an opportunity for studying the psychology of wild animals in the event of their exhibiting fear and anger.[5] Hunting has also been referred to by Megasthenese and Aśoka in his RE VIII. This popular pastime has been well-illustrated in the panels on the Sāñchī stūpas.

In a panel two persons are seen going to the forest, one with a spear on his shoulder and the other with a bow. Probably they are going for hunting; while ahead of them two persons are seen at a distance returning from the forest. One of them is carrying two deer slung across his shoulders on a pole. A long dagger is seen thrust into his loin-cloth.[6]

Whenever there is a reference to hunting in literature, it is the deer that is generally meant. It was for the desire of the deer-skin that Sītā prompted Rāma to kill Mārīcha. In *Śākuntalaṁ*, king Dushyanta is seen hunting a deer. The deer-skin was thought to be sacred by the saints and sages

XLVI Bullock cart, SG

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XLVII Camel rider, Stūpa No. 2

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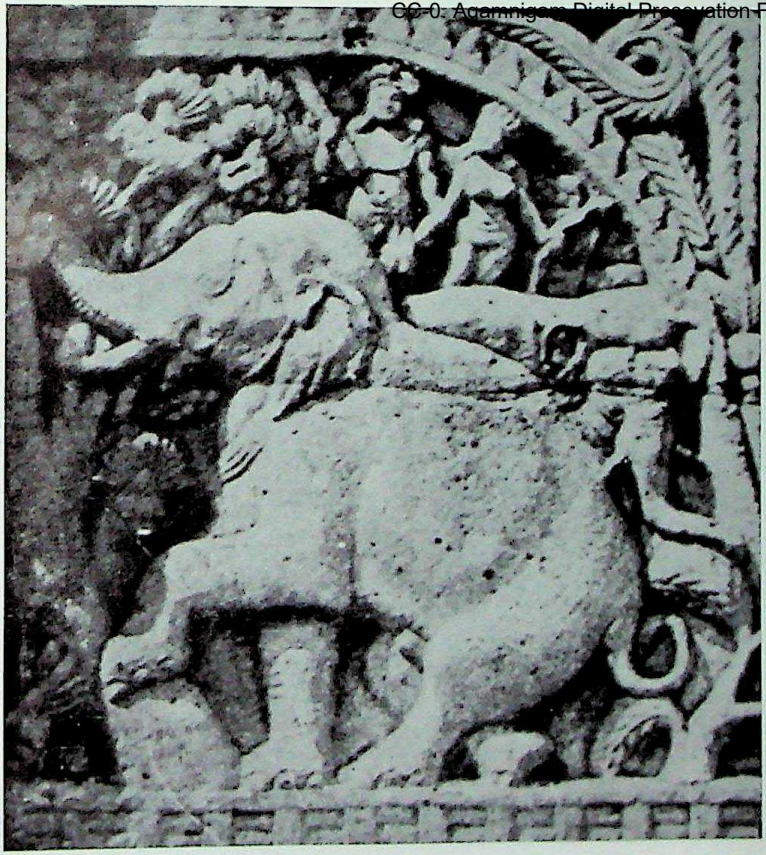

XLVIII Hunter couple, EG

XLIX Mithuna with vīnā, SG

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L Jala-krīḍā, Small Gateway

LI Mithuna in upavana, EG

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LII Madyapāna in Pramadavana, WG

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LIII A family enjoy
picnic, NG

LIV Vana-vihāra, NG

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LV Vana-vihāra, WG

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LVII Boat scene, EG

LVI A family enjoying dance and music, Small Gateway

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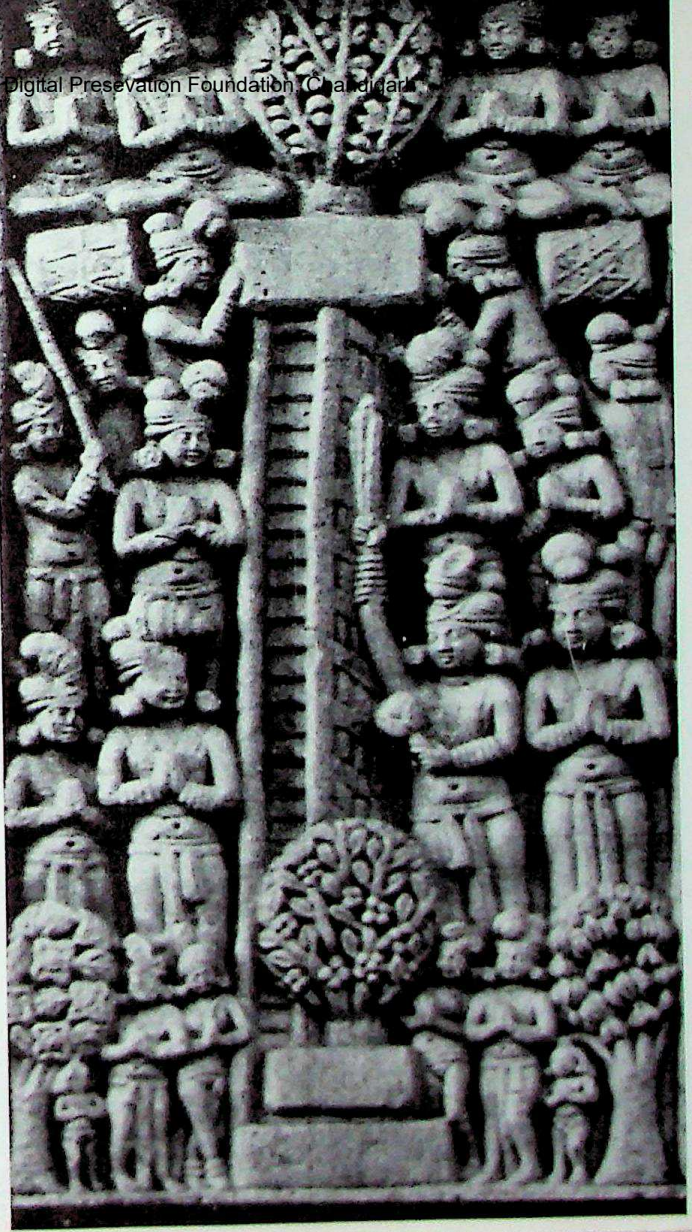
LVIII Uruvilvā scene, WG



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LX Dedication of Stupa, NG

LIX Buddha's Descent at Sāṅkāśya, NG

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LXI Bodhi-trees and stûpas, SG

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LXII Ārāma with a brick stūpa, EG

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LXIII Indra's Vaijayanta Prāsāda, EG

←LXVI Vaijayanta Prāsāda (close up)

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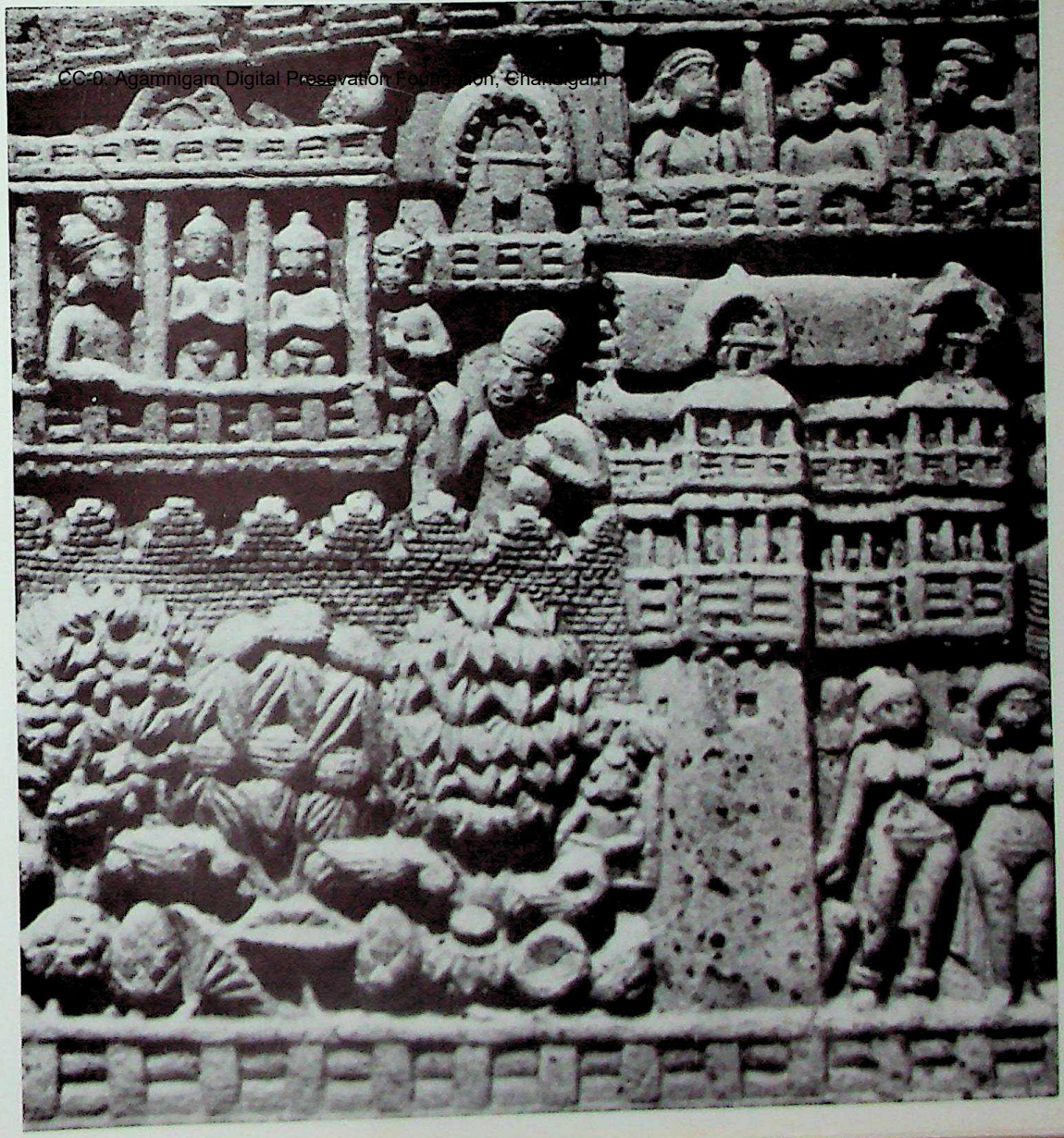

LXV City and City-gate, NG

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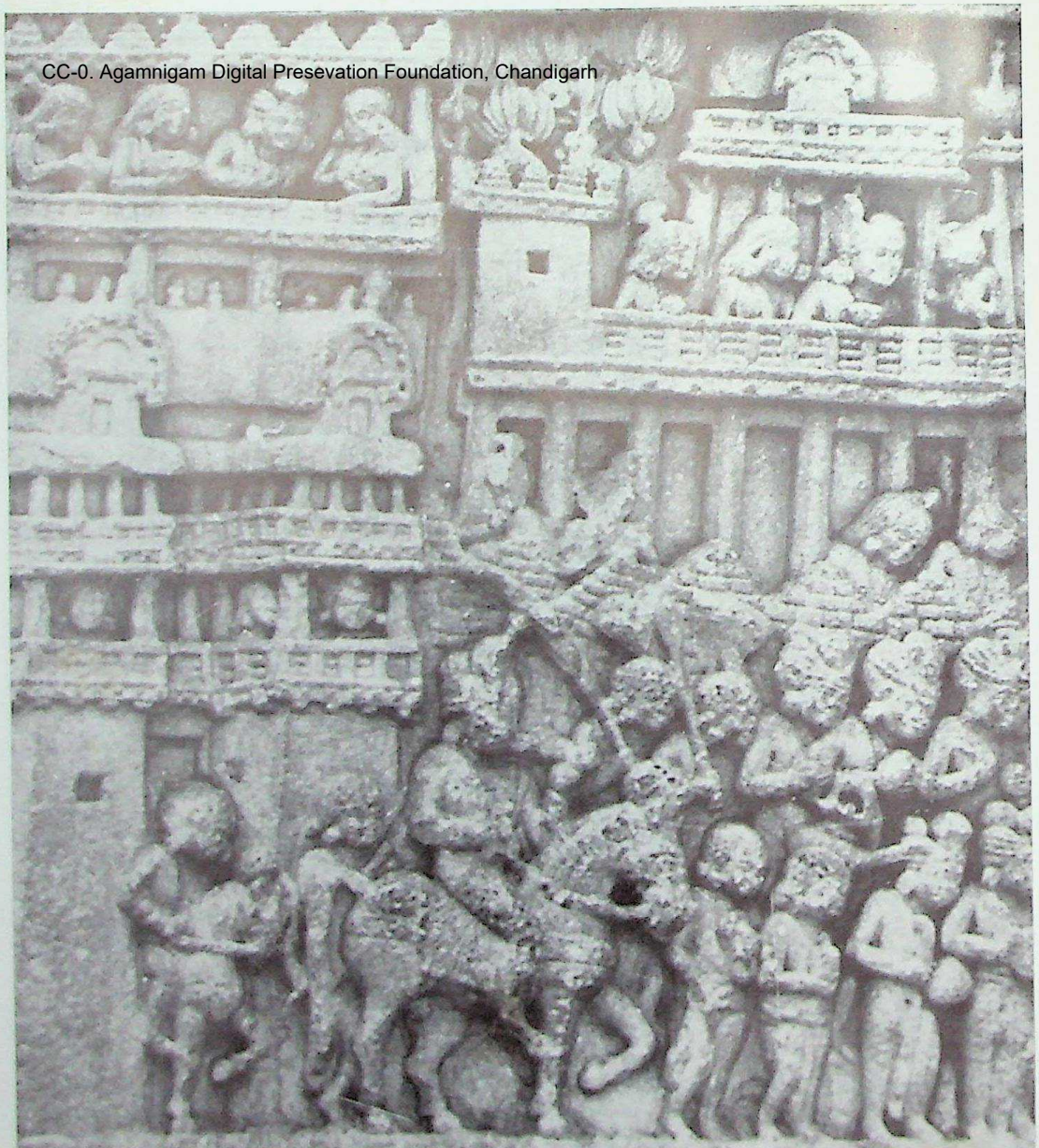

LXVI City and City-gate, NG

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LXVII City and City-gate, NG

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LXVIII Chariot scene

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LXIX Indra with Śachī, SG

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LXXI Man and Women in a balcony, EG

LXX Male heads with turbans, NG

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LXXII King with two queens and attendants, SG

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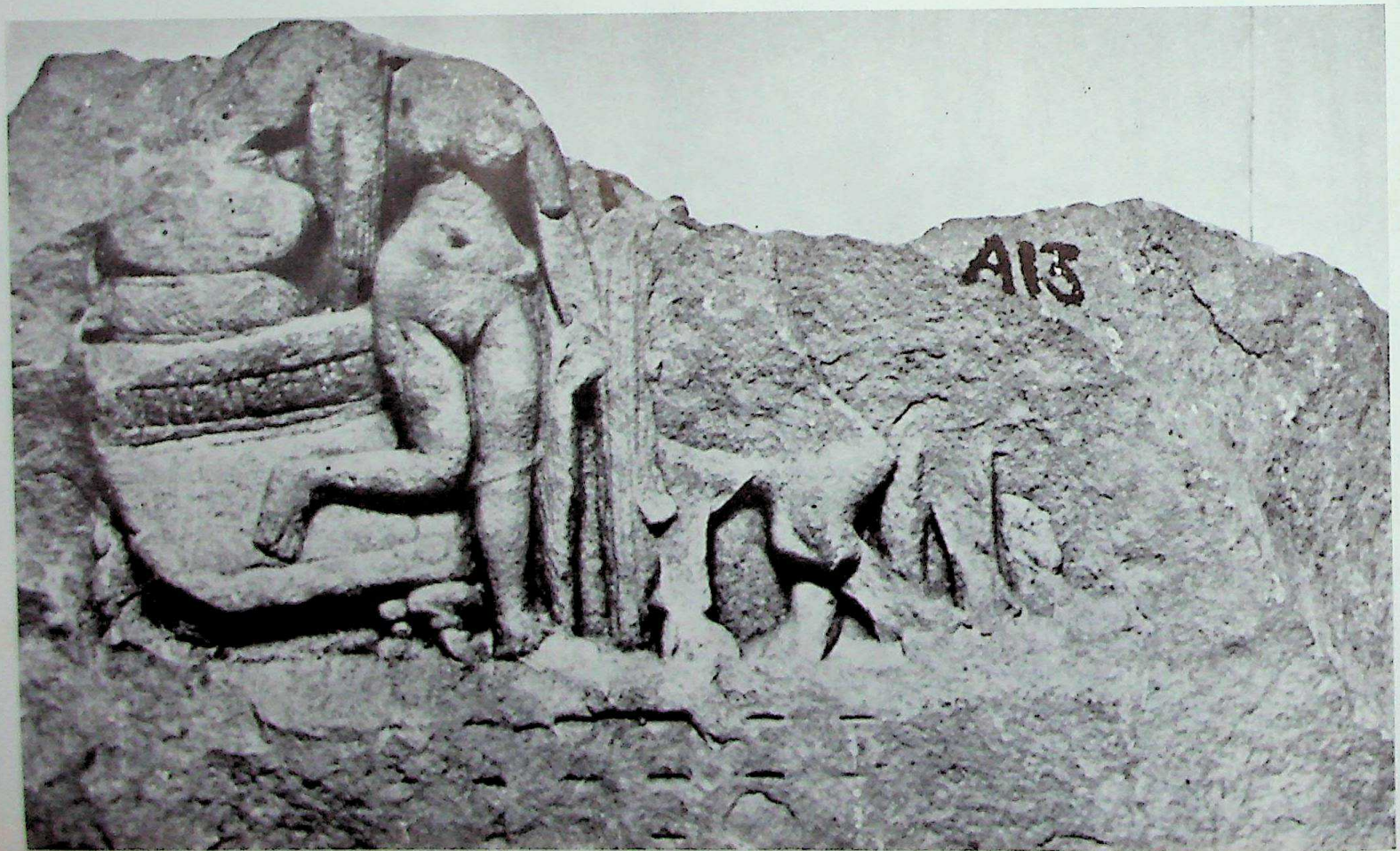
LXXIII Woman near a coach, SG



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LXXIV Man fighting with a triton, Small Gateway

LXXV Nagaraja Muchalinda, Small Gateway →

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LXXVI Man fighting with a lion,
Stūpa No. 2

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LXXVII Mithuna, Stūpa No. 2

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LXXVIII Mithuna, Stūpa No. 2

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LXXXI Horse rider with stirrup, Stūpa No. 2

LXXIX Padma-Vāsanā Lakshmī Stūpa No. 2

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LXXX Man sitting on a modhā, Stūpa No. 2

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LXXXII Elephant stable, Stūpa No. 2

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to sit on and meditate. Probably a deer was as much hunted for its tasty flesh as for its skin. That is why Aśoka goes on to record in his Rock Edict I to have put a ban on cooking meat of thousands of animals in his royal kitchen but that of two peacocks and one deer simply because of his own taste.

Sonuttara,[7] a great hunter, is seen aiming with his bow at the Nāgarāja *Chha-danta* in a panel.[8] A remarkable hunting uniform may be cited from the *Śyāma Jātaka* scene where the king of Vārāṇasī has encircled his loin-cloth in many folds. His quiver hangs at his back with its straps crossing on the chest and a small dagger frontally thrust into it (Fig. 5.7; Pl. XXXIII). It appears to be a special dress of a hunter which Kālidāsa mentions as *mṛgayā-veśa*.[9]

On one of the railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2, one person is represented in the limited space of a small medallion killing a tigress and holding a cub.[10] The whole scene is indistinct because of its execution in low-relief. Therefore, the dress and weapon of the hunter are not clear. On another pillar of the same stūpa, a lion, standing on its two hind legs, pounces upon a person. The person thus attacked was not an ordinary passer-by but a skilled hunter who could protect himself against the sharp and pointed forepaws of the lion with the help of his long shield. Conversely, he attacked the lion itself with his pointed dagger (Pl. LXXVI).[11]

Sometimes women, too, lent a helping hand to their partners in hunting. Undoubtedly, the pleasure of hunting must have doubly increased because of the accompaniment of ladies. Such a hunting couple, hand in hand—the male holding the quiver and the lady the bow—has been represented on a panel of the Great Stūpa (Pl. XLVIII).[12]

ŚĀLABHAÑJIKĀ

Śālabhañjikā is an important sculptural motif in Sāñchī art. Although this art motif is also represented elsewhere,[13] by virtue of its graceful execution and intense emotional extravagance, the significance of Sāñchī *śālabhañjikā* is unique. Projecting from the abacus of the capitals and supporting the ends of the lower architraves are graceful bracket figures of *śālabhañjikās* (Figs. 2.7-9; Pls. XA and B). The spaces in between the ends of the architraves are also occupied by similar but smaller *śālabhañjikā* figures (Figs. 1.1, 2; 2.1-6). This art motif has also been executed on the railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2 (Pl. XXVI).[14]

Sāñchī *śālabhañjikās* are female figures which appear to be living because of their variegated coiffure, elaborate ornamentation, graceful poses and joyous expressions. Sometimes they are standing erect holding the branch of a tree; in other cases, leaning forward and holding the branch of the tree they are apparently swinging; elsewhere, with the support of a tree-trunk, they are in a reclining posture with one of their feet stretched straight and the other somewhat turned back resting on the tree-trunk. These *śālabhañjikās* are invariably depicted under a tree either resting their foot on the tree-trunk or embracing it with their feet and hands or plucking its flowers and fruits or simply holding its branches (Figs. 1.1; 2.1-9; Pls. XA and B).

This particular art-motif in Sāñchī sculpture has been differently interpreted. Marshall identifies them with Sudarśanā, Chūlakokā, Mahākokā and Sirimā of Bharhut. He also recognises in them the evolved forms of the Mother-Goddess of the Indus Civilization.[15]

These *śālabhañjikās* may also be taken as the masterpieces of feminine beauty of the age, as is alluded to in ancient literature in a scattered way. According to the ideal, the female figure should be composed of a face like the moon, eye-brows like a bow, eyes like those of a *khañjana* bird or *mṛgī* (a deer), lips like the fruits of *bimba*, nose like that of a parrot, neck like a conch-shell, arms like a lotus stalk, hands and feet like lotus flowers, breasts like golden goblets and thighs like plantains. Sāñchī *śālabhañjikās* with their attractive coiffures, graceful and profuse ornamentation, smiling

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faces, elevated breasts and charming postures appear to be quite in accordance with the above dictum.

Another interpretation of this motif is 'the premature blossoming of trees' or *dohada*,[16] as it is so often called. It is a poetic belief that the Aśoka tree blossoms prematurely if it is embraced or kicked by a virgin.[17] Moreover, trees like Priyaṅgu blossom with the gentle touch of a maiden, Aśoka by a simple stroke of her foot, Mameru by her musical notes, Tilaka by her casting-looks, Kurubaka by her embrace and Karṇikāra by her dancing.[18] Probably, the very basis of the aforesaid belief lies in her productive power and life-force which are transmitted to the tree by her foot-stroke or embrace and thus cause it to blossom. The elevated and compact breasts of the Sāñchī *śālabhañjikās* are really like vessels full of nectar symbolising creative power and life-force. According to some scholars, the literary tradition of *dohada* and its plastic representation in the motif of *śālabhañjikā* seem to convey the harmony between man and nature and their interdependence.[19]

This *śālabhañjikā* motif is related to a kind of sport, particularly that of women. As a sport, it has first been mentioned by Pāṇini in one of the sūtras of his *Ashṭādhyāyī*, wherein sports like *śālabhañjikā*, *Aśoka-pushpa-prachāyikā*, etc., form part of the ladies' sports of Eastern India.[20] Probably *śālabhañjikā* was a sport related to plucking and gathering of flowers of *śāla* trees. This may also be possible that having broken the tender twigs of *śāla* trees, the ladies played a game of striking one another.[21]

This view is confirmed by the *śālabhañjikā* festival of Buddhist literature. The *Avadānaśataka* refers to the holding of a *śālabhañjikā* festival or *mahotsava* and narrates: 'Once Lord Buddha dwelt at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana of Anāthapiṇḍaka. Now at that very time, the festival called *śālabhañjikā* was being celebrated at Śrāvastī. Several hundreds of beings assembled there and, having gathered *śāla* blossoms, they played, made merry and roamed about.'[22] It is also mentioned in the *Nidānakathā Jātaka*, wherein mention has been made of a *śāla-vana* between Kapilavastu and Devadaha, where Māyādevī was so much charmed by its vernal beauty that she desired to sport there (*sālavana kīlaṁ kīlitu-kāmatā*). As soon as she caught hold of a branch, she felt the pangs of labour.[23] Possibly, this event led to the representation of this famous motif of *śālabhañjikā* in Indian art.[24]

PICNICS

The *śālabhañjikā*, which has just been described above, was a kind of *uiyāna krīḍā* (*udyāna krīḍā*) or *ujjāṇa-maha* (*udyāna-maha*) of Pāli and Prākṛt literature. Under the auspices of these festivals, seminars, *samājas*, drinks, dinners and other celebrations including sports were held in groves and gardens laden with leaves and flowers. Their references in the epics bespeak of people visiting gardens for pleasure. These invariably contained parks, groves, fascinating lawns, flower-beds, ponds, crystal-rocks, etc. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is a graphic description of the *Aśokavāṭikā* of Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā[25] as well as the groves and orchards of Rāma in Ayodhyā.[26] Aśvaghosha too has mentioned the planting of a grove with reference to the founding of the city of Kapilavastu.[27] In Sāñchī sculptures also, these scenes of groves depicting *vana-vihāra* or picnic have been illustrated in many panels on the stūpas (Fig. 34.11).

Well-decked young maidens and couples, sometimes along with their children, used to visit the parks in the evening.[28] The menfolk generally took their wives to these pleasure trips or picnics. In a broken panel on the Southern Gateway[29] against a forest-setting, a lady is seen squatting on a rock with one of her feet dangling and the other turned back. She has clasped her arms on her breasts. The presence of her male companion beside her is attributed to the execution of a crossed leg. In between them lies their vīṇā, a characteristic of their time. A round container is seen hanging

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nearby from the branch of a tree. Underneath, there is a vessel of cool drinking water covered with a small tumbler and thus it suggests some edible thing in the container hanging above (Pl. XLIX). The jocund looks of the lady are worth noticing in the panel. The presence of food and drink in this scene undoubtedly suggests the prototype of modern picnics.

In a design of a *kalpa-latā*, three couples have been chiselled out enjoying the company of their sweethearts and musical notes on the vīṇā along the banks of a stream. Of a couple the male is playing on the vīṇā, while the lady is holding her necklace of charms on her outstretched feet.[30]

On another panel, shady trees, rocky terrain, rippling streams, frisking and frolicking deer and lions, all present a living picture of the forest. In such an environment, enters a couple—the male giving his finger to a child and the female holding another in her arms. Sitting behind a stream under a shady tree, they are indulging in amorous talks, while the two children are playing at a distance (Pl. LIII). This scene depicts a family enjoying a picnic.[31]

Sitting on a plain rock in a forest, a couple has been sculptured in a close embrace. The lady is sitting on the left thigh of her spouse, who has offered her the support of his left hand. Thus, reclining on the support of his hand, she gracefully shows her bosom ostensibly elevated and protruded (Pl. LI).[32] Verily, there is no need of feeling shy for embracing his sweetheart in the tranquil solitude of nature.

Four such couples, two on elephants desporting themselves in a lotus pond, one enjoying the drinks and the remaining one the music, have been sculptured in a panel (Pl. LIV).[33] Similar refreshing picnic scenes have also been depicted on a pillar of the Western Gateway[34] where four couples are seen sitting on planks arranged under the dark shade of large-leafed trees in a garden and passionately engrossed in drinks, personal make-up, romantic embrace and amorous gossips. Amidst these four couples, there is standing also a fifth one, the lady of which is trying in vain to suppress her laughter by pressing her palms against her lips. Her laughter seems to be caused by the unrestrained and unabashed display of love by the four couples, as stated above (Pl. LV).

While on the one hand, the presence of arbours, furniture, railings and staircases on these panels suggests the semblance of somewhat modern facilities in the present day parks and picnic-spots, it also sheds welcome light, on the other hand, on the popularity and significance of such picnics and excursions in the days of yore.

Such well-maintained and beautiful parks, as are suitable for sport and amusement, have been mentioned by Kālidāsa in two separate classes—the ones attached to the royal palaces specially meant for the ladies of the harem were called *pramadavana*,[35] and the others built outside the city for general public were called *puropakaṇṭha-vana*.[36]

Agrawala finds in these scenes on the Northern and Western Gateways glimpses of Elysian scenes of ideal happiness from the land of Uttarakuru.[37] He also suggests the probability of the representation of *darī-māha* festival of the *Rāyapaseṇiya sutta* or *darī-gṛhas* (rock-shelters) of Kālidāsa, in which the highlanders of the Himalayan regions passed the nights with their spouses indulging in bacchanalian revelries.[38] This description has also been attested by Aśvaghosha.[39] Foucher also identifies these scenes with the lower reaches of the Himalayas but he also expresses the probability of their being the representations of Nandana-*vana*.[40] But, since we are well aware of the provisions of such pleasure-gardens and picnic-spots in almost every city of ancient India, why do we not recognise in these sculptural scenes of Sāñchī the gardens and parks of our own land instead of those of Nandana-*vana* or heavenly Uttarakuru?

WATER-SPORTS

It appears that *jala-krīḍā* or water-sports as a form of recreation is as old as bathing in tanks and rivers. It was

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included among the garden-sports (*udyāna-krīḍā*). Ancient Indian literature is full of descriptions related to this sort of recreation.[41] Kings and nobles along with their womenfolk enjoyed these water-sports in the tanks provided within their palace-gardens.[42] They also set out for picnics and after sporting in rivers in the company of their sweethearts, they also enjoyed food, drinks, dance and music.[43] Besides human beings, divine and semi-divine persons along with their consorts are also said to have enjoyed water-sports.[44] Ladies were specially interested in it, which is evident from the legends pertaining to Krishna's *chīra-haraṇa* or lifting of clothes.

Sāñchī art represents water-sport in many panels on all the stūpas.[45] In every panel, it is represented as being enjoyed by men and women together on elephant's back frisking and frolicking in lotus-ponds. Usually, the party consists of the king, his queen and one or two maid-servants. The man is always seen sitting on the neck of the elephant, while ladies are seen either standing in water, playing with their lockets, dallying with the lobe of elephant's ear, scaling up the trunk or giving a helping hand to their partners in order to lift them up. Attendants are sometimes seen holding a banner-pole, a royal insignia (Pls. L, LIV).

Normally, scenes of *jala-krīḍā* in Sāñchī art are pictured against a forest setting. But one of them is a scene of a pleasure-garden in a royal residence. In a panel on the Southern Gateway, an elephant is seen sporting with lotuses in a tank with the king and queen on its back. The queen, sitting behind and giving her helping hand to another lady in water, is trying to lift her up. Nearby from a balcony, two ladies are peeping out to see the king and queen indulging in *jala-krīḍā*.[46]

The representations of water-sport in Sāñchī bas-reliefs make it very clear that the association of an elephant besides the womenfolk was necessary for this form of amusement. The fact is well-corroborated by Bhāsa, who describes the princess Vāsavadattā along with her girl-friends waiting for Bhadrāvatī, the she-elephant, to carry them to the place of *jala-krīḍā*.[47]

DRINKING

It has been mentioned above that people in ancient times indulged in different kinds of revelries in parks or gardens for their own recreation. Besides gossiping, water-sporting, music and dancing, drinking was also included among these recreations and it has been well-represented in the Sāñchī bas-reliefs.

Couples enjoying drinks, executed on one of the pillars of the Northern and Western Gateways, have been already mentioned under picnics.[48] In the scene on the Northern Gateway, the lady is seen sitting on the left thigh of her spouse, who is offering a cup of wine to his beloved (Pl. LIV). Out of the four *mithunas* engaged in sensual pleasures on the Western Gateway pillar, one is enjoying drinks and gossiping, which is evident from the cups they are holding (Pl. LV).

We also notice in a small panel on the Western Gateway a royal party busy with drinking.[49] In this panel, the king is seated in an armchair attended with the *chaurī* and *chhatra*-bearing maid-servants. A lady, apparently the queen, is sitting on a wicker-stool quite in front of the king. She holds a cup in her hand in which a third female attendant is pouring from a vessel something, probably wine. At a short distance is seen a portion of the royal palace, where there are some ladies on a balcony. The presence of trees in the background evidently suggests the identification of the spot with a pleasure-garden (*pramada vana*) attached to a palace (Pl. LII). In this scene, the king is shown in his regal majesty, enjoying the company of his dear queen and passing the fleeting moments on a cup of wine in the lap of nature quite away from the humdrum atmosphere of court-life.

Drinking as a means of recreation in India is an age-old practice. The Avestan equivalent *hurā* for Saṁskrit *surā* shows it to be as old as the *Soma*,[50] the brewing and distilling of which has been dealt with in the whole of the ninth *maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda*. Drinking has always been a popular means of recreation. It is well attested by its frequent re-

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ferences in ancient literature.[51] Bhāsa describes the people as blessed ones who are intoxicated, dead drunk, lost in and even dead after drinking![52] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, wine is described as the tranquilliser of all suffering (*sarva-śoka-vināśinī*).[53] Vātsyāyana calls drinking *Pānaka-rasa-rāgāsava-yojanā* and includes it into the list of the 64 arts.[54] Wine was available in bars and taverns.[55] Drinking was given social recognition in the form of drinking-festivals like *Vasantotsava*.[56] Besides a number of varieties of wine prepared in the country from different materials, its fine varieties were also imported in ancient India.[57]

In Sāñchī art, men and women are seen equally participating in drinking-bouts and thus amusing themselves. Probably, drinking was a common practice with a married couple and the Sāñchī sculptures bear witness to it. Kālidāsa finds that the charm of the eyes of a lady is enhanced when she is intoxicated.[58] Ladies entertained with *surā* have been mentioned in the *Kalpa-sūtras*.[59] In Rāvaṇa's cellar, intoxicated ladies are said to be strutting, staggering and rolling.[60] Queens like Māyādevī,[61] Irāvatī,[62] Indumatī,[63] Sudeshṇā and other ladies like Draupadī and Subhadrā[64] were addicted to wine. Even Sītā[65] and Pārvatī[66] could not abstain from it.

Drinking by ladies in contemporary society is also confirmed by a terracotta from Kauśāmbī depicting a drunken lady in a drooping posture being lifted by another male figure. The terracotta is unique of its kind in its treatment. It certainly surpasses the famous bacchanalian scene in a Kushāṇa relief from Mathurā. The posture of the lady is romantic and displays the height of the plastic art never achieved before the classical age. The terracotta is now kept in the Allahabad Museum (No. K 5329) and is safely assignable to the Śuṅga period.

Drinking of wine was never approved by society, rather it was declared sinful[67] and a bad habit.[68] Buddha condemned it.[69] Ladies were particularly forbidden from drinking.[70] But despite condemnation and several restrictions and injunctions drinking continued to be a popular means of merry-making in India for both men and women. The fashion of drinking went on to the later periods when even unmarried girls and princesses were indulging in it.[71]

DANCE AND MUSIC

Since the very dawn of human civilization, dance and music appear to have been the best creation of man to do away with the monotony of life. It is at the climax of joy and happiness that the chords of the heart get resonant and it begins to dance, and the ocean of sweet music begins to surge. Dance and music are enjoyed on different occasions like ceremonial functions, festivals, processions and so on. This view can be well-supported on the basis of the Sāñchī sculptures where in different panels on the stūpas dance and music find full representation and scope. In Sāñchī art, sweet notes of music whisper in your ears whether you are led to the lonely lap of nature, or to the sacred surroundings of the stūpas, or to the assemblies of gods or kings, or to the advancing armies or returning legions with flying colours.

Music in Sāñchī art plays an important role also in war[72] and worship,[73] but here, we are to discuss it only as a means of recreation. It is well-known that *nṛtya* or dance, *gīta* or song and *vādya* or musical instruments are the components of music which is collectively known as *gandharva-vidyā*[74] or *gandhabba-beda* (*Gandharva-veda*).[75] Sāñchī bas-reliefs represent music both with and without dance. It is for self-recreation as well as for others. *Mithunas* or couples set out for picnics in the lap of nature either on the banks of a river, stream or pond (Pl. XLIX)[76] or in a pleasure-garden beneath the dark shade of a tree (Pl. LIV)[77] have already been described enjoying the sweet notes of their vīṇā. In one panel, a couple is seen behind an arbor, the male playing on the vīṇā and his sweetheart dancing to its tune (Fig. 35.5).[78] The demons of Māra's army are seen in a panel merry-making with drinking, dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments (Pl. XIII).[79]

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All these above examples display music for self-recreation. For the recreation of an assembly of gods or the court of a king, the collective form of music including dance was always employed. Normally, the musical parties consisted of female dancers and musicians. It is quite evident from the panels representing gods worshipping the lock of the Bodhisattva[80] (Pl. XXXIV), Indra holding his court in his heavenly abode (Pls. LXIII, LXIV)[81] and the Nāgarāja Muchalinda in the company of his queens[82] (Pl. XXXIII).

A panel on Stūpa No. 3 represents a family of a man, a woman and three children enjoying dance and music.[83] The man sits on a wicker-stool holding the hand of a small boy standing before him. The woman, apparently his wife, sits by his side with a child on her lap and another standing behind her. The musical party includes a lady playing on the vīṇā, another blowing a syrinx and the third dancing. The concert also includes clapping by the two visitors (Pl. LVI).

Dancers on different panels have been carved out displaying different charming *mudrās*, postures which prove the art of dancing of the age to be of a high degree. It is well corroborated by Kālidāsa who deals in detail on both the theoretical and practical sides of dance and music.[84]

It appears that music as displayed in the Sāñchī sculptures has a long line of heritage. Traces of dance and music have been found from the Harappā culture.[85] Vedic people were very fond of dance and music.[86] Indra and Ushas were great dancers.[87] Pāṇini too describes dance and dancers, song and singers, and music and musicians.[88] Cities described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[89] and elsewhere[90] were resonant with sweet musical notes. References to music-halls have also been found in classical literature.[91]

Musical Instruments

Scholars of music have said that dance and instrumental music are subordinate to song. A song is an outcome of sweet voice, rhythm and metre. Separate instruments are meant for each of them. For producing vocal effect, wind instruments (*sushir*) like flute, conch, trumpet, etc., are there. Stringed instruments (*tantrī*) like *vīṇā* and *sitār* also serve the same purpose. For rhythmic effect, there are percussion instruments (*avanaddha*) like tabors, *mṛdaṅgas* and drums; and for metrical effect, there are cymbals and *kartāls*, etc. (*ghana*). In Sāñchī sculptures, we find the execution of the musical instruments of string, wind and percussion.

Vīṇā

Among the stringed instruments it is only the *vīṇā* or lyre that has been generally carved.[92] It was a bow-shaped multi-stringed instrument with one end wide and the other tapering (Fig. 36.11). The vīṇā was very much popular among the people of rank of the age. It was the only instrument in Sāñchī sculptures which was used for solo performance by the couples on picnic-trips, as we have already noticed. Its popularity is quite evident from its carving in contemporary art at Bharhut,[93] Bodhagayā,[94] Amarāvatī,[95] Khaṇḍagiri[96] and Mathurā,[97] and its continuous references with applause in ancient literature.[98] The instrument was played upon by a plectrum known as *vādanadaṇḍa* or *koṇa*[99] which is executed very clearly in some panels (Pls. XIII, LVI).[100]

Flute

We find two varieties of flute in Sāñchī bas-reliefs—one representing an ordinary pipe with a single hole at the mouth-end and many others at the finger-end and played by holding it horizontally[101] (Fig. 36.13; Pl. XVI) and the other consisting of two pipes with upper ends in the mouth for blowing and the lower ones held vertically and separately in both hands (Fig. 36.14; Pl. LX).[102] This double-pipe instrument was very popular not only in India but also abroad.[103] Though absent in ancient Indian literature, the instrument is still played on in Northern

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India and is called by the name of *algojā* or *algojyā*. Long practice and sustained effort on the part of the player are required to produce its tune uninterrupted like that of the gourd-pipe of a snake-charmer.

Conch and Trumpet

The blowing of a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*) and trumpet (*tūrya*) during religious ceremonies and military movements has been an age-old practice and this traditional form is well represented in Sāñchī art. The trumpet in Sāñchī sculptures represents its two varieties—one straight[104] and the other curved somewhat like the English letter 'S',[105] both having a broad head either round or like the beak of a bird and slightly tapering towards the mouth-end (Figs. 36.9, 10; Pls. XVII, LX).

Tabor

Among the instruments of percussion, Sāñchī art represents tabors of various shapes and sizes. These were shallow drums with their sides covered with animal-hides and fastened with a cord. The large variety of the tabor may be identified with an ordinary *ḍholaka* or *ḍholakī* of today (Fig. 36.3; Pl. LXIV).[106] It was played on normally by ladies in the manner it is played even today. One having a long and thin body may be classed the *mṛdaṅgam* which was played on by suspending it by a rope round the neck[107] (Fig. 36.2; Pl. XVII).

We find a very peculiar instrument of this class represented on the Northern Gateway. In a panel representing the symbol of the stūpa, many devotees and worshippers are seen circumambulating and playing on different instruments, including the one which is thin in the middle with slightly increased sides. It is suspended with a chord from the left shoulder and is being played on by striking only on its upper end with two plectrums held in both the hands (Fig. 36.4; Pl. LX).[108] This instrument known as *huḍuka* or *ḍahakī* is still used by the *Kahāras* of the Avadha region in Uttar Pradesh in their social functions. But it is played with strokes of hands and fingers and not with plectrums.

Drum

Large drums, which were beaten with sticks, are often represented in the panels symbolising Buddha-worship.[109] These were similar to the large tabors described above with a single difference of their even body (Fig. 36.1; Pl. XXXII). Small drums were suspended round the neck and beaten with sticks (Fig. 36.5; Pl. XVII).[110] Another instrument of percussion, a kettledrum, beaten with two sticks and kept hanging in front with a rope round the neck, was generally included among the war-music instruments (Figs. 36.6-8).[111] The first variety may be identified with *dundubhi* and the other with *bherī*. At present, these are termed as *ḍhola* and *nagāḍā*.

Orchestra

According to some scholars, the musical instruments of India were meant for individual use, and there is very little suggestion of an orchestra.[112] But in the light of the sculptural representations in Sāñchī bas-reliefs, the above view cannot be accepted as correct. No doubt the *vīṇā* was an instrument for solo performance but all the other musical instruments appear to be played in a concert, irrespective of the occasion. The presence of orchestra in the panels depicting song and dance confirms this fact.

WRESTLING BOUTS

The *samājas* which were arranged in ancient times for mass-merriment were meant for the pleasure of the five senses. Eating and drinking, dance and music and wrestling and gymnastics were the principal subjects of these *samājas*.[113] The *samājavāṭa*, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[114] was held in an open arena or an amphitheatre and that is why Thomas suggests some sort of animal fighting in this context.[115] Accor-

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ding to Aelian, Chandragupta Maurya arranged a festival annually, and rams, bulls, elephants and rhinos were made to fight.[116] Similar performances are also mentioned in the *Jātakas*.[117] Even in the *Purāṇas*, we find references to wrestling competitions held for public amusement.[118] These duel fights or gladiatorial combats were very popular among the Romans of the second and first centuries B.C.[119] In Sāñchī sculptures also, we find glimpses of this sort of recreation.

In a panel on a ground railing-pillar (No. 88b) of Stūpa No. 2, a lion and a warrior are seen fighting together. The lion standing on its hind legs is in a posture of fierce attack with its front paws. The gallant warrior appears to have foiled its attack with the help of his long shield and he makes a counter-attack with his sharp and pointed dagger. Flowers and garlands seen in the space appear for his encouragement (Pl. LXXVI). The panel reminds one of the legends of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia.

On both the lower false capitals of the Small Gateway, a wrestler wearing an underwear, a full-sleeved jerkin and long boots is seen fighting with a python. Although he is in the coils of the python, he has firmly held its hood with his hands and crushed it with his knees (Pl. LXXIV). Foucher describes him opening its mouth,[120] but this interpretation is unfounded. On the contrary, it appears that the gigantic python would have swallowed the wrestler, had he not firmly caught hold of its jaws and made its attack ineffective. It cannot be definitely said whether the aforesaid panel has got any connection with Krishna's killing of the *Kāliya-Nāga*.

JOY-RIDES

Since the very first revolutionary period of human civilization, i.e. Neolithic period, domestication of animals was an integral part of man's life. On the one hand, they were beasts of burden and, on the other, they provided flesh and milk. Domestic animals which were primarily means of transportation became later on a means of recreation also. In Vedic society chariot[121] and horse-racing[122] was a popular sport. The winner in the horse-race was supposed to be given a prize.[123] A complete book on chariot-driving belonging to the fourteenth century B.C. has been found in the form of inscriptions at Boghazkui.[124] The practice of the bull carrying a passenger on its back is found mentioned in the *Jātakas*[125] and other Buddhist texts.[126] It may well be found in the legendary character of Nandī, the favourite vehicle of Śiva. This tradition of animal joy-rides is found represented in the Sāñchī bas-reliefs.

We have already discussed the use of animals for human transport. But there are several representations in the Sāñchī sculptures which mark out riding as a means of recreation. Almost all the false capitals contain a set of two animals, bridled and well-caparisoned and sometimes with men and women riding on them (Pls. XLIII, XLIV). Bull-riders on the Southern Gateway carry in one of their hands a box. Foucher identifies it with a relic-casket[127] which in no way can be explained here. To me the box is a tiffin-carrier which must have contained some edible substance—a necessary item for a picnic or excursion.

We have already noticed that elephant was quite indispensable for water-sports. Barring elephants, horses, camels and bulls, the Sāñchī sculptures also represent goats, stags and lions carrying passengers on their back. Such animals have never been used for human transportation. Apparently, therefore, they display a sort of joy-rides which were a good means of recreation in the contemporary society very much like those of circuses today.

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1. *Ashṭā.*, III.3.99; *Artha.*, II.25; XIII.5; *Mbh.*, I.185.29; *Kāmasūtra*, I.4.26; *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545, *gāthā* 64; *Dīgha.*, I, p. 6; III, p. 183 (P.T.S.).
2. RE I of Aśoka; Hāthīgumphā Insc. of Khāravela; Nasik Cave Insc. of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, etc.
3. *ṚV*, VIII.2.6; X.28.10; X.39.8; X.86.4; X.40.8; *Vāja. Saṁ.*, XVI.27; XXX.7; *AV*, X.1.26.
4. *Rāmā.*, II.49.16; III.43.31; IV. 18.38-40.
5. *Artha.*, VIII.3.
6. NG, Front, East end, Lower lintel.
7. *Chhaḍanta Jāt.* No. 514.
8. SG, Back, Middle architrave.
9. *Śāk.*, II.
10. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 14b.
11. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 88b.
12. EG, Front, North end, Middle lintel.
13. This art-motif has also been found from Bharhut (for Chūlakokā and Chandā see Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, pls. 33b and 34b), Bodhagayā (see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pl. XXVII, fig. 38), Mehrauli (*Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 45), Mathurā (Mathura Museum, Ex No. J.55 and 2345 vide Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 157), Sārnāth (Rowland Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India*, pl. 84), Lumbinī (see Mookerjee, R.K., *Aśoka*, pl. XIII) and Jamsot (Allahabad Museum, No. AM 1047, see Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, No. 334, pl. CX).
14. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 1a.
15. Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 129.
16. *Mālavikāgnī.*, III.17; *Raghu.*, VIII.62; *Megha.*, II.15.
17. The poetic belief in *Śabdārṇava* runs thus:
    "Taru-gulma-latādīnāṁ akāle kuśalaiḥ kṛtaṁ Pushpādyutpādakaṁ dravyaṁ dohadaṁ syāttu tatkriyā"
    vide Regmi, Sesharaj Sharma, *Meghadūta Kavyaṁ*, p. 186.
18. Ibid., pp. 185-86.
19. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 16.
20. *Kāśikā* on *Ashṭā.*, VI.2.74, *prāchāṁ krīḍāyāṁ.*
21. Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 159.
22. Ibid., p. 160.
23. Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 160.
24. Cf. *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, I.28, *āmralatikā*, a lady's sport.
25. *Rāmā.*, V.14; VI.48.37.
26. Ibid., I.5.12; II.71.22, 25-26.
27. *Saundarananda*, I.49.
28. Cf. *Rāmā.*, II.67.17.
29. SG, Front, East end, Middle lintel. The panel is, at present, displayed in the archaeological gallery of the National Museum, New Delhi, No. A-22/59-62.
30. SG, West pillar, Outer face.
31. NG, Back, East end, Lower lintel.
32. EG, Front, North end, Lower lintel.
33. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel.
34. WG, North pillar, Front, Upper panel.
35. *Mālavikāgnī.*, III.2. Cf. *Rāmā.*, V.41.15.
36. *Raghu.*, XIV.20; *Rāmā.*, II. 34.56 (*puropakānana*); II.60.9 (*nagaropavana*).
37. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 165.
38. *Kumāra.*, I.10.
39. *Saundarananda*, IV.41; VI.33; X.13.
40. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XXXIVb.
41. *Rāmā.*, IV.40.46; *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, IV.11.19; *Megha.*, I. 33; *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, VI.58; *Kirātārjunīyaṁ*, VIII.
42. Aśoka-Vāṭikā was a similar pleasure garden of Rāvaṇa (*Rāmā.*, V.14).
43. *Rāmā.*, VII.32.2, 13, 18; *Harivaṁśa*, 2.88-89 (Pandey, Vinapani, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa kā Sāṁskṛtika Vivechana*, p. 37).
44. *Rāmā.*, IV.40.46; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 120.12-21 (Rai, S.N., *Paurāṇika Dharma Aura Samāja*, p. 317).
45. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 27a, Small Gateway, Back, Lower lintels.
46. SG, Front, West end, Middle lintel.
47. *Pratijñā.*, IV.
48. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; WG, North pillar, Front, Upper panel.
49. WG, Back, South end, Middle lintel.
50. Apte, V.M., *Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhyasūtras*, p. 96.
51. *Vāja. Saṁ.*, XXX.11, *Surākāra*; *Ashṭā.*, II.4.25; III 1.100; IV. 2.99; VI.2.70; *Rāmā.*, I.53.2; II.12.78; 91.15, 21, 52; 114.20; V.11.22, 32; 24.46; *Artha.*, II. 25; *Raghu.*, IV.42; VIII.68; *Ṛtu.*, V.10; *Kumāra.*, III.38; IV.12; *Śāk.*, VI; *Jāt.*, Nos. 81, 291, 431 and 512.
52. *Pratijñā.*, IV.1.
53. *Rāmā.*, V.24.46.
54. Shukla, D.N., *Bhārattiya Vāstuśāstra*, p. 133.
55. *Rāmā.*, II.114.14; IV.28.34, *pāna-bhūmi*; *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545; *Mahābhāshya*, II.1.1; *Artha.*, II.25, *pānāgāra*; *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, III.27, *pāna-kuṭyā.*
56. *Artha.*, II.25. Cf. *surā-utsava* of *Surāpāna Jāt.* No. 81 and *Kumbha Jāt.* No. 512.
57. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 39, 49 and 56 (Chakrabortti, H., *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 266).
58. *Kumāra.*, III.38. Cf. *Rāmā.*, IV.

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33.38, *mada-vihvalākshī*; *Pādatāḍitakam*, 147ii, *madālasa-vighūrṇita-lochanā*.

59. Ram Gopal, *India of the Kalpa-sūtras*, p. 167.
60. *Rāmā*., V.11.
61. *Nidānakathā Jāt*. No. 1.
62. *Mālavikāgni*., III. *tataḥ praviśati yuktamadā Irāvatī*.
63. *Raghu*., VIII.68.
64. *Mbh*., I.222.23-24; IV.16.3.
65. *Rāmā*., VII.42.18.
66. *Kumāra*., VIII.77.
67. *Chh. Upa*., VI.10, *mahā pātaka*, *RV*, VII.86.6; VIII.2.12.
68. *Bhadraghata Jāt*. No. 291.
69. *Surāpāna Jāt*. No. 81.
70. *Manu*., IX.84; *Artha*., III.3; *Mahābhāshya*, III.2.80, 99.8 (Puri, B.N., *India in the time of Patañjali*, p. 90, f.n. 112).
71. *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, LXIV.44-48; LXVI.141; LXXV.115 (Chattopadhyaya, Aparna, 'The Kathā-sarit-sāgara and the Practice of Drinking Wine', *JUPHS*, XIV (N.S.), Pt. I, p. 41, f.n. 1-3).
72. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Upper and Middle architraves; NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel.
73. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section.
74. *Rāmā*., I.4.10; VII.23.50.
75. Law, B.C., *India as Described by Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 260.
76. SG, West pillar, Outer face.
77. NG, East pillar, Front face, Lower panel; WG, North pillar, Front, Upper panel.
78. WG, North pillar, Front, Second panel.
79. NG, Back, Middle architrave, Right half section.
80. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
81. EG, North pillar, Front face.
82. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; SG, East pillar, Front, Upper panel (now broken out).
83. Small Gateway, West pillar, Back face, Lower panel.
84. *Mālavikāgni*., I, II.
85. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, pp. 22-23.
86. *RV*, I.10.1; 130.7; VII.87.5; 88.3; X.72.6; *YV*, XXX.21; *Śat. Br*., III.2.46; *Ait. Br*., V.22.10.
87. *RV*, I.92.4; VI.29.4.
88. Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 167.
89. *Rāmā*., II.71.29 (Ayodhyā); IV. 27.26-27 (Kishkindhā); V.3.11 (Laṅkā).
90. *Megha*., II.1 (Alakāpurī).
91. *Mṛchchha*., I.8; *Mālavikāgni*., I and II, *Saṅgita-śālā*. Cf. *Samājjā* of *Vidhura Jāt*. No. 545 and *Samāja-vāṭa* of *Mbh*., I.185.29.
92. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; NG, Back, Middle architrave, Right half section; EG, North pillar, Front face; WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
93. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XVa, XVIa.
94. See Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pls. 8b and 9a.
95. Ibid., pl. 36a, left section.
96. Mitra, Debala, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*, p. 16.
97. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, fig. 136e.
98. *Ashṭā*., III.3.65; *Mahā-Ummagga Jāt*. No. 546; *Rāmā*., II. 39.29; V.10.37; *Mṛchchha*., III. 3; *Svapna*., V.6; VI.1; *Buddhacharita*, I.45; *Megha*., I.45; II.23; *Raghu*., VIII.33, etc.
99. *Rāmā*., VI.24.42; *Svapna*., V.6.
100. NG, Back, Middle architrave; Stūpa 3, West pillar, Front, Lower panel.
101. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section; WG, Back, Upper and Middle architraves.
102. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel. See Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 2, pl. 10.
103. Such double pipe was very popular in the time of Homer among the Greeks (Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sāñchī: A Cultural Study*, p. 66), the Etruscans in Rome (see Chester, G. Starr, *A History of Ancient World*, pl. XII), Pharaohs in Egypt (Popley, *Music of India*, p. 99), and Assyrians in Mesopotamia (Burns, Edward McNell, *Western Civilizations*, Vol. 1, p. 78).
104. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section.
105. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
106. EG, North pillar, Front face, Upper panels; WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; SG, East pillar, Front, Upper panel (now broken out).
107. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section.
108. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
109. NG, Both pillars, Front face, Upper panels.
110. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section.
111. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left section; WG, Back, Upper and Middle architraves.
112. Popley, *Music of India*, p. 98.
113. *Dīgha*., III, p. 183; *Vinaya*., IV. 37.1 (Mookerjee, R.K., *Aśoka*, p. 129, f.n. 1); Bhandarkar, D.R., *Aśoka*, p. 19.
114. *Mbh*., I.185.29.
115. Mookerjee, R.K., op. cit., p. 130 f.n.
116. Ibid.
117. *Vidhura Jāt*. No. 545.
118. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, V.9.8.
119. Srivastava, A.L., *Prāchīna Viśva Ki Sabhyatāyen*, p. 95.
120. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 3, description of pl. XCVII.
121. *RV*, VIII.80.4, 5, 6; *Śat. Br*., V.1.1.3.
122. *RV*, IV.24.8; V.37.7; VIII. 80.8; X.156.1.
123. *RV*, I.81.3; I.116.15; VIII.8.80.
124. Jairazbhoy, R.A., *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, pp. 12-13.
125. *Mahā-Ummagga Jāt*. No. 546.
126. *Mahāniddesa* (Majumdar, G.P., 'Conveyances', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 277).
127. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XVII.

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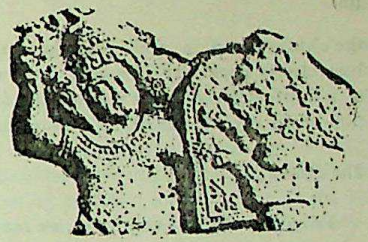

CHAPTER X

ARMY, ARMS AND ARMOUR

THE maintenance of a well-equipped army for purposes of defence and security is a natural development following the organisation of territorial units of states. The *Atharva-veda* mentions the army as a regular institution of state like the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti*.[1] A regular army was maintained by the first Maurya emperor, Chandragupta, according to both the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the records of classical Greek writers.

Although Sāñchī sculpture is basically religious in character, it provides evidence which throws interesting light on army organisation and arms and armour in ancient times. Virtually there are only two panels having sufficient space, both architraves, one on the Southern and the other on the Western Gateway depicting the war of the relics together with certain other panels which throw light on the military equipment of the time.

THE ARMY

Fourfold Division

A guarded gate of a fortified town, Kuśīnagara, has been represented on the Southern Gateway.[2] On the lower ground of the panel, a fourfold military retinue consisting of chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers is approaching towards the city-gate, while on the upper ground they are seen returning with the relics. Due to the umbrellas, a royal insignia, the occupants of a chariot and six elephants, three on both sides of the gate may be identified with the seven chieftains participating in the attack on the Mallas of Kuśīnagara who were not prepared to part with a share of the Lord's relics (Pl. XV). Although all of them do not belong to one military unit, the traditional idea of a fourfold division of the army is very obvious.[3] The chariots, elephants, horses and the foot-soldiers all have been represented here in one scene engaged in war operations.

Similarly, the fourfold division of the army has been very clearly illustrated on the Western Gateway,[4] where the city-gatehouse has been shown on the extreme left and in front of it there lies a storm of an army including all the constituents: the infantry, the cavalry, the elephants and the chariots. The arrangement is very methodical. The foot-soldiers are leading, followed by the elephants and the cavalry and behind them all is the chariot (Pl. XVI). The panel is full of heads of men and shows a great deal of hustle and bustle natural to the occasion. The skill of the artist in depicting the advancement of the army is remarkable. The posture of each and every soldier shows that he is full of the martial spirit.

Other scenes depicting the four arms of the military may be cited from the different panels on the Southern,[5] Eastern[6] and Western[7] Gateways. Besides, there are a number of scenes representing royal processions coming out of the town through

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the city-gate and in each case the four military arms have been clearly depicted.[8] This goes to show that the maintenance of a fourfold division was a significant feature of the organisation of the royal forces in the days of the Sāñchī art.

The Infantry

From the Sāñchī sculptures, we may gather that the foot-soldiers were engaged both in offence and in defence. In the scene of the war of the relics on the Southern Gateway, the attack on the guarded city-gate of Kuśīnagara is led by the foot-soldiers who were considered to be the best archers in ancient times. Defenders from the upper balconies of the gatehouse are also seen attacking the assailants with spears, clubs and stones (Pl. XV).

Chariots

The chariot as a wing of an army has been represented with its single specimen in every panel where an army is shown on the march[9] or engaged in actual warfare.[10] Perhaps, it was a token representation of the wing for want of adequate space available to the artist. And if, at all, it reveals the unpopularity of the chariot, it may be explained in the light of the failure of this wing in the battle of Hydaspes. However, in any case its use was still prevalent among the emperors.

The war-chariot in Sāñchī sculptures is depicted as accommodating only two persons, one the driver and the other a warrior. The suggestion of Dikshitar that formerly the chariot accommodated only one person who functioned as a driver as well as a warrior[11] does not seem to be convincing. Singh rightly refutes this suggestion on the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*, II.12.8.[12] From the very beginning the chariot provided accommodation for two persons, the *rathī*, warrior and the *sārathī*, charioteer and it is very well illustrated in the reliefs of the Sumerians, the Hittites and the Assyrians.[13]

Besides a driver and a warrior, a chariot in a panel accommodates a third person who is short-statured and stands by the side of the warrior who puts his hand on the shoulder of the former.[14] This third person may be taken to be a prince who might have been brought to the battle-field for practical training. On all these panels of the Sāñchī stūpas, the occupants of the chariot are seen in standing posture and this seems to be quite apt for a war-chariot.

Elephants

Sāñchī sculpture depicts the elephant as one of the four units of the army. On the panels where the collective form of the army has been represented, the elephant occupies a significant place. In the scenes depicting the war of the relics on both the Southern and Western Gateways, elephantry has been represented by eight and five elephants, respectively. Similarly, it is also represented in the scenes of royal processions already described above. Three presons usually ride the war-elephant represented in Sāñchī sculptures—one, the warrior or king sitting quite in front over the neck and always carrying in his hand a goad (*aṅkuśa*) resting or rather piercing the animal's skin, and the other two, the attendants, one sitting in the middle holding a *chaurī*,[15] the fly-whisk or some arm like a bow and arrows[16] and the other sitting behind, holding either an umbrella[17] or the standard with a flaring banner.[18]

Cavalry

Doubtless, the infantry and the chariots had the most important place in Vedic military organisation. But the horse was also given considerable importance, not only because the chariot was yoked on to it but also because it formed the cavalry, an independent wing of the army.[19] Among the sculptural evidence in India, Sāñchī ranks first in representing the horse as being used variously to give an independent

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ride, to form part of the cavalry and to draw the chariot. The horse as a wing of the army has been represented in the scenes depicting 'the war of the relics', 'fleeing army of Māra' and 'the royal processions'.

Female Participation

Three male and two female pairs with a drawn sword (*ākṛshṭa khaḍga*) and buckler in their hands have been carved one upon the other in a decorative design.[20] Here we find evidence of female participation in military activities. It is not suggested that ladies took an active part in military warfare, but it is apparent that women did receive some sort of training in military science. We know it for a fact that *Yavana* (Greek) ladies were appointed body-guards of Chandragupta Maurya.[21]

ARMS

Various types of military arms and weapons are represented in Sāñchī sculptures. From Vedic times onwards, military weapons have been referred to in literature[22] and their discovery from several sites of Harappā[23] and Copper Hoard[24] cultures has proved a high antiquity of their use.

Bow and Arrow

Of several weapons represented in Sāñchī bas-reliefs, the bow and arrow rank first. Archery in ancient times was an important mode of fighting and the bow and the arrow were the chief weapon in use in warfare. The discovery of many arrow-heads of copper or bronze from Harappan sites proves their existence in India even in the 3rd millennium B.C.[25] The importance of the weapon in the time of the Vedas is quite clear from *Dhanurveda*, an *upaveda* of the *Yajurveda* which is largely devoted to the science of archery. The bow was the chief weapon of Arjuna (*Gāṇḍīva*)[26] and Rāma, the great heroes of the two great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Kauṭilya gives four names to the weapon each after the material of which it was made.[27]

Although the bows depicted in the panels on the Sāñchī stūpas cannot be classified according to their material, we can classify them according to their shapes. Mostly the bows represented in Sāñchī reliefs were made of one piece of stick, because they have only one curve (Figs. 37.1, 2; Pl. XII).[28] Others with two curves were apparently made of two big pieces of bamboo chips with a handle of another straight piece of stick in the middle (Figs. 5.7; 37.3; Pl. XXXIII).[29]

'In the time of Megasthenese', says Arrian, 'the infantry usually carried a bow of the same length with the bearer',[30] which in most cases appears to be partially true from Sāñchī specimens. But the further statement of Arrian that 'resting the bow on the ground and pressing them with the left foot, the soldier discharged the arrow'[31] is not corroborated by the bas-reliefs at Sāñchī. The bow in operation has been represented in many panels,[32] but nowhere is it shown as resting on the ground. On the other hand, it is always held in the left hand raised towards the aim, which in some cases is quite high (Fig. 5.8). The infantrymen on the ground outside the gate in the scene of the war of the relics on the Southern Gateway are attacking the defenders on the parapets and balconies of the gatehouse with their bows raised quite above their heads (Pl. XV). It may be due to a change in the mode of wielding the weapon during a period of some three hundred years and also due to the shortening of the weapon.

The view of some scholars that the bow could be handled by all four classes of warriors and that the horseman was equipped with the bow and arrow[33] is not convincing. One hand of the horseman is always engaged in holding the reins and controlling the movements of the animal. The handling of the bow requires the use of both hands, and in such a case

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this weapon would not suit a cavalryman. This is particularly unthinkable in case the horse is not equipped with a saddle and stirrups. Lances, spears and swords have always been the favourite arms of a horseman. Among many representations of cavalryman, only once is he clearly seen equipped with an arm and that is a spear.[34] Vedic cavalrymen also made use of lances and swords as their chief weapons of offence. The Maruts invariably made use of these weapons.[35] While describing the weapons and equipment of Indian soldiers in the time of Alexander's invasion, one of his commanders, Nearchus, says, "The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called 'saunia', and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers."[36]

The arrow, being a component part of the bow, earns equal importance. Wherever the bow is described, the arrow is inevitably mentioned. The warrior is described in the *Ṛgveda* as armed with the bow, arrow and the quiver.[37] The arrow was variously termed as *ishu*,[38] *bāṇa*,[39] *śara*,[40] *nārācha*,[41] *śilīmukha*[42] and *sāyaka*.[43] In Sāñchī sculpture, which is one of the earliest to represent the weapon, the arrow is depicted not only inside the quiver[44] or placed on the bow-string[45] but also piercing the target.[46] Unfortunately, the details about the shape and different parts of the weapon in Sāñchī art are not brought out distinctly and it is difficult to attempt a full description entirely on the basis of these representations.

Quiver

Along with the bow and the arrow, the quiver depicted in the panels of Sāñchī reliefs needs mention. It was of a cylindrical form with its body probably made of hide and secured with leather straps around it (Fig. 37.4). Normally the quiver was fastened at the back of the archer with leather straps, sometimes making a cross on his chest, as is very clear from the *Śyāma Jātaka* scene (Fig. 5.7; Pl. XXXIII).[47] But it was carried in the hand also (Pl. XLVIII).[48] These representations of the quiver in Sāñchī art find corroboration in ancient Indian literature wherein it is variously termed as *nishaṅga*,[49] *tūṇīra*,[50] *upāsaṅga*,[51] *sarāvāpa*,[52] *bāṇakośa* and *tarakaśa*.

Spear

Another important weapon represented on the stūpas at Sāñchī is the spear. The foot-soldiers were armed with the bow and arrow or long spears and oblong shields. We have as many as five clear representations of foot-soldiers equipped with this weapon in the war-scene on the Southern Gateway. Certain other specimens of the spear are also to be seen in the hands of the defenders on the parapets and balconies (Pl. XV). Other representations of the spear are available in the panels depicting the war of the relics,[53] the fleeing army of Māra[54] and a royal procession.[55] Besides the militarymen, hunters[56] and guardians[57] were also using this weapon (Pl. IX).

The form of the weapon represented in the war scene is quite indistinct. But the illustrations on other panels help us in classifying the weapon into three varieties: one having a conical and triangular head like that of an arrow[58] (Fig. 38.14), the other having a long and conical head with round blades like a leaf[59] (Fig. 38.12) and the third having a double-bladed and barbed head decorated with a fillet[60] (Fig. 38.13).

The use of different varieties of spear as represented in Sāñchī sculptures is corroborated by ancient Indian literature where the weapon has been described with different names. *Śakti*[61] appears to be the general term for the spear. Its other names were *tomara*,[62] *prāsa*,[63] *śūla*[64] and *kunta*.[65] The great antiquity of the weapon is proved by the discovery of some copper or bronze spearheads from Harappā and other sites.[66]

Sword

Another offensive weapon used in ancient Indian warfare

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and fairly represented on Sāñchī bas-reliefs is the sword. Its reference in the *Ṛgveda* as *karavāla*[67] and *kārpāṇa*[68] and the discovery of some specimens in the copper hoards from northern India[69] leave no doubt about its antiquity. Later on, it was also known as *kauksheyaka*,[70] *asi*,[71] *khaṅga*[72] and *khaḍga*.[73] The Sāñchī area (Daśārṇa) is said to have been famous for manufacturing sharp swords.[74]

Sāñchī art represents two varieties of sword—the first was a broad and short sheet of steel with a round tip and attached to a hilt (Figs. 37.5-9) and the second with a broad and pointed tip with its body slightly tapering towards the handle (Figs. 37.10, 11). The sword was kept in a scabbard. Sāñchī sculptures represent the sword both within the scabbard[75] (Figs. 37.6-9; Pl. IX) and without it[76] (Fig. 37.5). The scabbard, as may be seen in Sāñchī art, was a sheath with crossings of leather straps having a knot made of thongs below and decorated with a motif of the standard surmounted by a symbol of *nandipada* (Figs. 37.8, 9; Pl. IX).

Daggers

Small and pointed daggers (*kshura*) were also in use in the days of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas and their representation is available in Sāñchī bas-reliefs (Fig. 37.12). A specimen of the dagger is seen in the right hand of a man defending himself against attack by a lion with a long shield (Pl. LXXVI).[77] The mode of keeping this small weapon is noteworthy. It was generally thrust into the waist-band or belt. The archer in the *Śyāma Jātaka* scene,[78] a goat-rider[79] and a hunter returning with two haunches suspended on a pole over his shoulder[80] may be seen with their dagger thrust into their loins (Figs. 5.7; 6.7).

Club

The club or the *mudgara*[81] was also an ancient arm of infantry. It is represented in Sāñchī art. In the war-scene on the Southern Gateway, we find some clear specimens of the club. Both offenders and defenders are equipped with this arm. A soldier on the parapet is wielding this arm with his right hand. Another foot-soldier on the extreme right side of the city-gate handles it by raising it over his head with both his hands (Pl. XV). Probably, to make the blow forceful, this weapon was wielded with both hands. The club was a thick, short rod with a big, round top slightly tapering towards the handle-point (Figs. 37.15, 16). It was made entirely of wood[82] and its body was sometimes wrapped in thongs to make it strong (Fig. 37.16).

Mace

Sāñchī art represents a peculiar weapon. It is a small rod with a cup-shaped top, attached with many leaf-like prongs around. The body of the top is decorated with lines of small beads or pearls (Fig. 37.17). Two persons flanking a stūpa in a panel have kept it at their shoulder.[83] Foucher describes it as carnucopia.[84] From the style of its keeping, it may be identified with a type of mace (*gadā*)[85] which was an iron rod with many round prikes forming a heavy ball at the top with a tapering handle. The Sāñchī specimen appears to be a bejewelled one as described in the *Mahābhārata*.[86] Being made entirely of iron,[87] it was a very heavy arm and its wielding required much physical prowess.[88] The great epic heroes, Bhīma and Hanumāna, the wielders of this arm, are well known for their enormous physical prowess.

Trident

The trident was also included among the military arms[89] and it is evident from the Sāñchī bas-reliefs. The retreating army of the demons in panic is well-equipped with arms including one specimen of the trident (*triśūla*).[90] Apparently,

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it is without a joint, hence made entirely of iron (Pl. XVIII) as is the case today with the trident of the Nāgapanthins and in the hands of Śiva.[91] Evidently, the trident was a sort of spear with three conical projections at the head instead of one on the spear (Fig. 38.15) and only therefore the weapon was called *triśūla* or trident. It is interesting to note that the subsequent traditional association of the *triśūla* with Śiva and his *gaṇas*, has a precursor in Sāñchī representation where it is shown wielded only by the demons of Māra's army.

Pestle

Like the trident, the pestle (*musala*) has also been represented at Sāñchī only as an arm of Māra's army in the above noted panel (Pl. XVIII). In no other panel depicting a military composition is it represented. It was a very primitive weapon made of an iron rod[92] having sharp conical projections at both the ends with a straight and small handle in the middle. It is similar in shape to the wooden pestle in domestic use in the rural areas to this day (Fig. 37.18). Its military importance in ancient days is evident from its references in the epics[93] and the *Arthaśāstra*.[94] It was a favourite weapon of Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishṇa.[95]

Battle-Axe

Kuṭhāra or the battle-axe has been mentioned frequently in ancient Indian literature.[96] But the sculptural evidence of Sāñchī shows that the arm had lost its military significance by the time of the execution of the Sāñchī gateways. We find a rare representation of the battle-axe on the Western Gateway containing the scene of the war of the relics.[97] A footman, third from the chariot carries a battle-axe on his left shoulder holding it with both his hands (Pl. XVI). Apparently, it is quite similar to the felling-axe represented elsewhere in the scene depicting the life of the ascetics (Fig. 38.16). This type of felling-axe is still used in cutting logs. It will not be far away from the truth if we recognise in this bearer of the axe the representation of a separate unit of the army described as commissariat by Megasthenese which also included grass and wood cutters who cleared the way for the advance of the military columns.[98]

Thunderbolt

The origin of the thunderbolt (*vajra*) has been narrated in the *Mahābhārata*.[99] It was the weapon of Indra,[100] who was called *vajra bāhuṁ*[101] and *vajrī*.[102] In Sāñchī sculptures, too, this traditional idea of Indra wielding the *vajra* has been brought out by the sculptor. In the scenes of the *Viśvantara Jātaka*[103] and the six heavens of sensuous pleasures (*chha-ḳāmasagga* or *Kāmāvachara-deva-Loka*),[104] Indra is seen holding in his hand the *vajra* (Pls. XII, LXIV).

The thunderbolt represented in Sāñchī reliefs is a small weapon like the *ḍamarū* with six-pointed prongs, three on each side and a small handle point in the middle (Fig. 37.13). It is quite similar in shape to the one represented on the obverse of the coins of Demitrius and Nahpān.[105] Another handled and two-pronged fork seen in the hand of a demon in the fleeing army of the Māra appears to belong to the same class of weapon (Fig. 37.14).

ARMOUR

Armour,[106] the defensive equipment of a warrior, was as important as his arms. Not only warriors but even war-elephants[107] and horses[108] were equipped with armour. From the Vedic times onwards, we find frequent use of them. *Varma* and *kavacha* were the two terms generally used for defensive arms. Kauṭilya classifies them into two categories, the *varma* and the *āvaraṇa*.[109] These armour mainly included the *śiprā*[110] or *śirastrāṇa*[111] (helmet), *kaṇṭhatrāṇa*[112] (neck-guard), *varma*[113] (breast-plate or coat of mail), *hastghna*[114] or *sūtra-kaṅkaṭa*[115]

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(gloves), *aṅgulitrāṇa*[116] (finger-guard), *loha-jālikā*[117] (iron nettings) and the *kavacha*[118] (shields). Of the above, the shield, breast-plate, helmet and the gloves are found represented on the panels on the Sāñchī stūpas.

Shield

The shield, a common defensive weapon, is to be seen in four varieties. The first was oblong with a rounded top. It was both large and small in size (Figs. 38.4 and 2, respectively). The second variety was triangular in shape. It also had a rounded top (Figs. 38.1, 3). The third variety was round in shape like a basket (Figs. 38.6) and the fourth was rectangular with three projections at the top (Figs. 38.8, 9). The large-sized shields of the first variety are illustrated in the war scene on the Southern Gateway. These were as long as to cover its bearer from head to the knee and, therefore, as Cunningham observes, these must have been about three and a half feet in length and one and a half feet in breadth.[119] It was slightly round in shape with cross bands or other designs on its outer face (Pls. XV, LXXVI). Apparently, it was provided with a handle at the back. The small-sized shields of the same variety and those of the second are found in a scene representing an army in march.[120] The third variety is visible in the scene of the fleeing army of the demons[121] and the fourth in some decorative panels.[122]

Shields pertaining to the first three varieties appear to have been decorated generally with oblique and horizontal cross bands (Figs. 38.1, 4), in some cases with small circles or rows of circles (Fig. 38.6) and rarely with a crescent (Fig. 38.3). That quite a plain form of the shield devoid of any decoration was also in use is evident from a representation (Fig. 38.2).[123] The fourth variety was a short buckler with decorated cores and three projections at the top raised in the form of the *tri-ratna* (Figs. 38.8, 9).

From the representations in Sāñchī sculptures, the shield appears to have been an armour of the infantry. It was carried only by those who were equipped with long spears. Archers did not have it, as both their hands were engaged in shooting arrows. The fact is also evident from an Assyrian bas-relief depicting two soldiers, one equipped with the bow and quiver at the back and a dagger thrust into his loin-belt; and the other with a long spear in the right and a large, round and conical shield in his left hand. The bowman does not have the shield.[124]

Shields of the fourth variety are represented in decorative panels. All the ten standing figures in five pairs, three male and two female, executed on the whole space of a pillar of the Northern Gateway, hold in one of their hands a broad and naked sword hanging downwards and in the other raised hand a buckler of this variety. Another similar decorative panel is found on the middle architrave of the Small Gateway in its front face, where the yaksha-pairs have a drawn sword and a similar buckler in their hands. Marshall identifies this with a tray of flowers. Since the shields bear three raised projections, the learned scholar attempts to make it out as a tray full of lotus-buds.[125] But the representation of the flower tray, meant for worship, along with drawn swords does not carry conviction. Its identification by Foucher with the parade-buckler used in a war dance may, however, be nearer the mark.[126] Its association with the sword marks it out definitely as a shield. This is supported by some examples found in the contemporary art of Bharhut and Udayagiri (Orissa). In a panel on the Prasenjit Pillar from Bharhut, a man is seen putting on his turban and his sword in sheath along with the shield is hanging by a tree.[127] Similarly, a frieze on the Rānīgumphā Cave at Udayagiri depicts a violent combat between a man and a woman, both equipped with drawn swords and shields.[128] These shields represented in Bharhut and Udayagiri reliefs are quite identical in shape and size to those in Sāñchī sculptures.

Thus, we may conclude with some degree of certainty that the shield of the first three varieties represented at Sāñchī

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was a defensive equipment of the soldiers who were armed with long spears and lances, whereas the fourth variety was used by swordsmen.

Although sculptural representation provides no clue to the material of which these shields were made, literary references come in handy. Kauṭilya, while enumerating different varieties of armour, states that it was made of skin, nails and horns of the crocodile (*śiṁśumāra*), rhinoceros (*khaṅgī*), cow (*dhenuka*), elephant (*hasti*) and ox (*go*).[129] Warriors clad in armour made of skin of the rhinoceros have been mentioned in both the epics.[130]

Breast-Plate

A rare representation of the breast-plate is noticed in a panel depicting an army on the march before a city-gate.[131] The footman, second from the city-gate, covers his whole breast region with this weapon (Pl. XVI). The armour is decorated with three bands, one vertical in the centre and two oblique starting from the upper corners and all these crossing each other in the middle (Fig. 38.5). It is the only representation of the breast-plate at Sāñchī, though one should expect it to figure prominently in the war-scene depicted on the Southern Gateway.

The singular representation of the breast-plate in Sāñchī sculpture does not preclude its use in ancient times. Its use in Rgvedic times is attested by a hymn where the armour covers the vital parts of the body (*marma*).[132] The *kavacha* and the *varma* used in the epic age were nothing but coats of mail. We may identify the breast-plate of Sāñchī either with the *loha kavacha* type which, according to the commentator, was to cover the back and the breast only, or with the *hasti-karna* type which, in view of its shape, resembled an elephant's ear; both mentioned by Kauṭilya under the classes *varmāṇi* and *āvaraṇāni*, respectively.[133] As the term itself indicates, it was made of iron (*loha*).

Helmet

Though the representations are not very clear, certain infantrymen in the war-scene on the Southern Gateway are equipped with helmets (Fig. 5.8). It was just like a metallic cap protecting the head. Helmets made of iron and gold have been mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*.[134] The earliest representation of helmet is found on the Indo-Greek coins of Menander and on Kushāṇa coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Its earliest material example from Sumeria takes the antiquity of the helmet as far back as the third millennium B.C. A well-decorated helmet made of a thick gold plate was unearthed at Ur from the tomb of a prince.[135] The Sumerian helmet also was made of leather and copper.[136]

Gloves

A solitary evidence of the gloves is also afforded by the bas-reliefs at Sāñchī. In the scene labelled as *Śyāma Jātaka* by Marshall,[137] the king of Vārāṇasī has been twice represented wearing gloves in hands. The gloves appear to have a design of two crosses of thongs over them.[138] This piece of armour should be identified with the *hastaghna* of the *Ṛgveda* and the *sūtrakaṅkaṭa* of the *Arthaśāstra*, already referred to above.

OTHER MILITARY PARAPHERNALIA

Besides arms and armour, banners, standards and umbrellas also figure as military equipment in Sāñchī sculptures. In the scene representing the war of the relics on the Southern Gateway, all these royal insignias are distinctly shown. Umbrellas are also seen in another war-scene found on the Western Gateway.

Banners

The banner, generally known as *dhvaja*, *ketu* and *patākā*,

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represented in Sāñchī art was a heavy standard (*daṇḍa*) of many sticks tied at intervals, surmounted by a wheel (*chakra*) and finally crowned with the symbol of the *tri-ratna*.[139] A long rectangular piece of cloth, sometimes with cross-bands, was suspended with ropes and fluttering in the air (Figs. 36.8-13). In some cases, banners were decorated with different small signs of circles, crescents and stars. Generally, the symbol of crescent with a star is regarded as a Muslim symbol. But the fact is that these signs are older than Islam itself. Armies carrying banners with the symbols of the sun are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, V.21.12, *senāḥ sūrya ketavāḥ*. The motif of the crescent along with other auspicious motifs like an umbrella, mirror, fruit, garlands, etc., was prescribed in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XLIII.57, to decorate the famous standard of Indra (*Indra-dhvaja*). These signs were actually pregnant with some auspicious meaning suited to men of all cultures and religions, irrespective of their caste and creed. Very clear specimens of such banners are illustrated on the capitals of the Eastern Gateway (Fig. 39.13), the lower false-capitals of the Southern Gateway (Fig. 39.11) and on a panel representing the dedication of a stūpa by Mallas (Fig. 39.10).[140]

The colour and design of these banners must have had a significance of their own. During the epic period, every prominent warrior had his own banner distinguished by its animal design on it.[141] Fluttering banners on the battle-field were obviously meant to inspire and encourage the warriors. The use of banners for invoking the victory by armies while marching to the battle-field is as old as the *Ṛgveda*.[142]

Standards

At least one example of royal standard is found in the war-scene on the Southern Gateway where an attendant on the elephant, in the upper ground of the left section, holds it in both his hands (Pl. XV). The standard is a heavy rod surmounted by a symbol of the *nandipada* (*tri-ratna* on a *chakra*) resembling the letter '*ma*' in the Brāhmī script.

Umbrellas

Apart from banners and standards, Sāñchī umbrellas also had a royal as well as divine significance. Kings and commanders, when marching on a military campaign, had the umbrella (*chhatra*), a symbol of royalty. The Sāñchī specimen of the umbrellas was a slender rod surmounted by an inverted flat and circular disc. Whenever used over a divine emblem, it was decorated with garlands (Figs. 22.2; 25.1-3; 24.8; 39.2, 3). We cannot be sure of the material and colour of its covering but its subsequent references in literature make it to be white cloth.[143] A very detailed description of a royal umbrella, presented to Harsha by Bhaskara Verma, the king of Prāgjyotishpura, has been given by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita*. It was excessively white.[144]

War Music

Sāñchī sculptures provide complete details of military paraphernalia. The artist appears so devoted to minute observation, that he misses nothing, not even war music. In both the scenes representing the war of the relics and those of royal processions,[145] evidence of war music including conch shell, flute, kettledrums, tabors and trumpet is clearly provided (Pl. XVI).

War music was employed to discourage and frighten the enemy and to inspire one's own soldiers. Its use in military march has high antiquity. *Dundubhi*[146] and *bakura*[147] of the Vedic times and the *bheri* of Aśoka's RE IV were nothing but the drums usually beaten up at the time of military march. From the *Bhagvadgītā* we come to know that the conch shells of different warriors known by their individual names were blared at the beginning of the Great War.[148] In the epic period, war music mainly consisted of trumpets (*turya*), tabors

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(*mṛdanga*), drums (*paṭaha*) and conch shells (*śaṅkha*).[149] This popularity of war music is duly represented in Sāñchī sculptures. In this way, we find the panels on the stūpas at Sāñchī as a documentary record showing each and every detail of contemporary army organisation with its fourfold divisions, arms and armour, war music and other paraphernalia of warfare.

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1. *AV*, XV.9.2, *taṁ sabhā cha samitiścha senā cha.*
2. SG, Back, Lower architrave.
3. *Ashṭā.*, II.4.2., *Digha.*, III. 200; *Majjhima.*, III.173, 174, 176; *Saṁyutta.*, I.73.84; *Aṅguttara.*, III.327; *Vinaya.*, I.241, 342; II.10.182; V.105, 107, 108 (Singh, S.D., *Ancient Indian Warfare*, p. 35); *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545, *gāthā* 50; *Mahāummagga Jāt.* No. 546, *gāthā* 140; *Milinda*, II, p. 43, 47 (Trans. by Bhikshu Jagdish Kasyapa); *Rāmā*, VI.3.25; *Mbh.*, V.19.1 (cr. ed.); *Svapna.*, V.11.
4. WG, Back, Middle architrave.
5. SG, Front, Middle architrave.
6. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Right half section.
7. WG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section representing the fleeing army of Māra; WG, Back, Upper architrave.
8. NG, East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; EG, South pillar, Front face, Lower panel.
9. WG, Back, Middle architrave.
10. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section.
11. Dikshitar, V.R.R., *War in Ancient India*, p. 158.
12. Singh, S.D., *Ancient Indian Warfare*, p. 31.
13. See Goel, S.R., *Viśva kī Prāchīna Sabhyatāyen*, figs. 23, 46, and 61 respectively.
14. SG, Back, West end, Lower lintel.
15. WG, Back, Upper and Middle architraves.
16. SG, Back, Lower architrave, Left section; WG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section.
17. SG, Back, Lower architrave, Upper ground at the right half section; WG, Back, Upper architrave.
18. SG, Back, Lower architrave, Extreme right.
19. Organisation of cavalry is alluded to in *RV*, I.8.2; *Taitti.*, V.4.7; *Śat. Br.*, XIII.5.4.16, vide Singh, S.D., 'Horse-back Riding in the Vedic Period', *JUPHS*, XI-XIII, pp. 115-20.
20. NG, West pillar, Outer face.
21. *Strabo*, III, vide Raychoudhuri, H.C., *PHAI*, p. 276.
22. *Vedic Index*, I.60, 61; II.417; *Mbh.*, I.17.6, 7, 11, 12, 16; I. 26.43, 44; V.152.3, 4, 7; VIII. 19.8. 25, 26, etc., *Ashṭā.*, III. 2.21; III.3.97; IV.4.57, 59; V. 3.90, 152; V 4.61 (Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 423-24); *Artha.*, II 18; *Rāmā.*, VI.53.8, 9; VI.79.3-5.
23. Wheeler, R.E.M., *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 53-56, fig. 10.
24. Piggott, Stuart, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 198-200, fig. 24.
25. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 53.
26. *Gītā*, I.30.
27. *Artha.*, II.18.9, *kārmuka*, *kodaṇḍa*, *drūṇa* and *dhanusha.*
28. SG, Back, Lower and Middle architraves; NG, Back, Lower architrave.
29. SG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel; WG, South pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
30. Arrian, *Indica*, XVI, pp. 220-21 vide Sastri, K.A.N., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 109, f.n. 2.
31. Arrian, *Indica*, XVI, pp. 220-21 vide Sastri, K.A.N., *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 109, f.n. 2.
32. SG, Back, Lower and Middle architraves; NG, Back, Lower architrave; WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
33. Dikshitar, V.R.R., *War in Ancient India*, pp. 97, 178.
34. WG, Back, North end, Lower lintel.
35. *RV*, I.31.1, 37.2, 64 11, 85.4, 88.1, 166.4, 168.3; V.54.11, 57.2, 6; VIII.20.11 vide Singh, S.D., 'Horse-back Riding in the Vedic Period', *JUPHS*, XI-XIII, p. 122, f.n. 2.
36. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 65.
37. *RV*, V.57.2, *sudhanvān ishumanto nishaṅgini.*
38. *RV*, X.103.11.
39. *RV*, VI.75.17.
40. *Śat. Br.*, I.2.4; VI.52.10; *Mbh.*, VIII.19.8 (cr. ed.).
41. *Rāmā.*, III.28.10; VI.45.23; VI. 76 6.
42. *Ibid*, VI 76.6.
43. *Ibid.*, I.1.42.
44. SG, Back, Lower and Middle architraves; EG, Front, North end, Middle lintel; WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
45. SG, Back, Lower and Middle architraves; NG, Back, Lower architrave.

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46. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
47. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
48. EG, Front, North end, Middle lintel; SG, Back, Lower architrave, left half section.
49. *RV*, V.57.2; *Mbh.*, V.152.3.
50. *Seyya Jāt.*, No. 282; *Mbh.*, V. 152.3; VIII.19.8; *Rāmā.*, I.1.42.
51. *Mbh.*, V.152.3.
52. *Artha.*, II.32.19.
53. WG, Back, North end, Middle lintel.
54. WG, Back, North end, Lower lintel.
55. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel.
56. NG, Front, East end, Lower lintel.
57. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
58. WG, Back, North end, Lower lintel.
59. NG, Front, East end, Lower lintel.
60. WG, South pillar, Inner face, lower panel. Cf. *Rāmā.*, VI. 100.21, *saktiḥ kāñchanamālinī*.
61. *Ashtā.*, IV.4.59; *Rāmā.*, VI. 11.8; VI.8.16; *Mbh.*, I.17.12; 26.44; V.152.3; VIII.19.25 (cr. ed.). Cf. *RV*, I.32.12, *Śṛka*; VII.18.17, *Śrakti*.
62. *Artha.*, II.18.8; *Rāmā.*, VI.11.8; *Mbh.*, I.17.11 (cr. ed.).
63. *Ashṭā.*, IV.4.59; *Artha.*, II.18.8; *Mbh.*, I.17.11; 19.12; V.152.7; *Rāmā.*, III.25.8.
64. *Artha.*, II.18.8; *Rāmā.*, VI.8.16; *Mbh.*, I.28.12; V.19.3.
65. *Artha.*, II.18.8.
66. Wheeler, R.E.M., *The Indus Civilization*, p. 53.
67. *RV*, I.162.20. Also in *Mbh.*, I.26.44 (cr. ed.).
68. *RV*, X.22.10. Cf. *kṛpāṇa* of the later times.
69. Wheeler, R.E.M., *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 123; Sankalia, H.D., *Prehistory and Protohistory in India and Pakistan*, p. 223; Mookerjee, R.K., *Hindu Civilization*, p. 12.
70. *Ashṭā.*, IV.2.96.
71. *Mbh.*, I.17.12.
72. *Artha.*, II.18.13; *Rāmā.*, I.1.42; III.22.18; IV.51.22; VI.76.6.
73. *Ibid*.
74. *Jāt.* III.338, *Dasaṇṇakaṁ tikhiṇa dhāraṁ asiṁ*.
75. WG, Back, North end, Middle lintel; WG, South pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
76. NG, West pillar, Outer face; Small Gateway, Back, Lower architrave.
77. Stūpa No. 2, Rail-pillar No. 86b.
78. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
79. EG, Back, end, Lower false-capital.
80. NG, Front, East end, lower lintel.
81. *Rāmā.*, III.25.12; VI.52.2.
82. Club or *mudgara* entirely made of iron is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI.86.22; VI.68.148.
83. Stūpa No. 3, Small Gateway, Front, Middle architrave.
84. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 3, description of pl. XCVI
85. *Rāmā.*, I.27.7; VI.53.9; *Mbh.*, I.17.12; I.26.44; V.152.5; VIII. 19.25 (cr. ed.).
86. *Mbh.*, V.51.8.
87. *Rāmā.*, VI.70.51, *sarvāyasīm gadām*.
88. Cf. *Rāmā.*, VII.32.46, 'to be wielded by five hundred arms'.
89. *Rāmā.*, I.27.6; *Mbh.*, I.26.43.
90. WG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section.
91. *Rāmā.*, VI.67.63, *śūlaṁ kālāyasaṁ mahat*.
92. *Rāmā.*, VI.97.23, *āyasaṁ musalaṁ ghoraṁ*.
93. *Rāmā.*, I.27.12; VI.53.8; *Mbh.*, III.22.2 (cr. ed.).
94. *Artha.*, II.18.7, *musala yashṭi*.
95. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, V.25.12, *musalāyudha*.
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97. WG, Back, Middle architrave.
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99. *Mbh.*, *Vanaparvan*, 99.4.
100. *RV*, X.48.3; X.113.5.
101. *RV*, X.103.6; *AV*, VI.97.3; XIX.13.6.
102. *RV*, VI.29.3; *Rāmā.*, VI.61.15.
103. NG, Back, Lower architrave.
104. EG, North pillar, Front face.
105. See Rapson, *Sources of Indian History: Coins* (Trans. in Hindi by Ram Kumar Rai), pls. I.10; III.1.
106. Cf. *Mbh.*, VIII.19.27 (cr. ed.) and *Rāmā.*, VI.69.60; VI.75.11, *tanutrāna* an, armour or a guard of the body.
107. *Mbh.*, II.48.20, *kuñjarān kavachāvṛtān*.
108. *Vidhura Jāt.*, No. 545, *gāthā* 22, *suvaṇṇo urachchhado*. Cf. *Rāmā.*, III.49.15.
109. *Artha.*, II.18.
110. *RV*, V.54.11.
111. *Artha.*, II.18.18; *Raghu.*, IV.64.
112. *Artha.*, II.18.18.
113. *RV*, VI.75.18, *marmāṇi te varmaṇā chhādayāmi*; *Mbh.*, V. 152.21; *Saundarananda*, V.30; *ābaddhavarmā*, clad with armour; *Raghu*, VII.48; VIII.94; *Rāmā.*, III.26.32.
114. *RV*, VI.75.14.
115. *Artha.*, II.18.18; *Raghu.*, VII.59.
116. *Mbh.*, VII.35.23; *Rāmā.*, II.22.9; *Saundarananda*, I.35.
117. *Artha.*, II.18.18.
118. *AV*, XI.10.22; *Ashṭā.*, IV.2.41, *kavachahara*, an armoured soldier; *Mbh.*, I.26.41, *kavachāni vichitrāṇi vaidūrya vikṛtāni*, well decorated and stone-studded armours; III.37.16, *aṓhedya kavachāvṛtā* strongly armoured; III.99.6, *hemakavachā*, armour made of gold; *Rāmā.*, VI.88.54; *Artha.*, II.18.18; *Saundarananda*, VIII.58.
119. Cunningham, A., *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 139.
120. WG, Back, Upper architrave.
121. WG, Back, Lower architrave.
122. NG, West pillar, Outer face; Small Gateway, Front, Middle architrave.
123. WG, Back, Upper architrave.
124. See Goel, S.R., *Viśva kī Prāchīna Sabhyatāyen*, fig. 62.
125. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 145, f.n. 2.
126. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, description of pl. XXXVII.
127. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XV.
128. See Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri*

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and Khaṇḍagiri, pl. VIA.

129. *Artha.*, II.18.17.
130. *Rāmā.*, II.22.9, *khaṅgavantau*; *Mbh.*, I.225.8, *khaṅgī*.
131. WG, Back, Middle architrave.
132. *ṚV*, VI.75.18, *marmāṇi te varmaṇā chhādayāmi*.
133. *Artha.*, II.18.
134. *ṚV*, V.54.11; VI.75.14, *śiprā*, a helmet (cf. *śirastrāṇa*, *Rāmā.*, VI.97.33; *Artha.*, II.18.18); *ṚV*, I.29.2, *śiprin*, a helmeted warrior; IV.37.4, *ayaḥ śiprā*, helmet made of iron; II.34.3, *hiraṇya śiprā*, helmet of gold; VI.29.6, *hiri śiprāḥ*, one with gold helmet.
135. See Goel, S.R., *Viśva kī Prāchīna Sabhyatāyen*, p. 102, fig. 31.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
137. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. LXVa.
138. WG, North pillar, Inner face.
139. In one panel the banner is finally crowned with a fly-whisk (WG, Back, North end, Upper lintel).
140. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
141. *Rāmā.*, II.84.3; VI.59.15; 100.14; 57.26; *Mbh.*, VII.80.
142. *ṚV*, VI.47.31; VII.85.2; 103.11. Cf. *Artha.*, II.18 wherein it is called *vaijayantī*.
143. *Rāmā.*, II.3.10; II.15.10; II. 26.10; V.59.24.
144. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 71.
145. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Right half section; EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel; WG, Back, Upper architrave.
146. *ṚV*, I.28.5; VI.47.29, 31; *AV*, V.20; V.21; VI.126; XII.1.41.
147. *Pañchaviṁśa Br.*, V.5.19.
148. *Gītā*, I.15-18, *śaṅkhān dadhmuḥ pṛthak-pṛthak*.
149. *Rāmā.*, VI 95.35.

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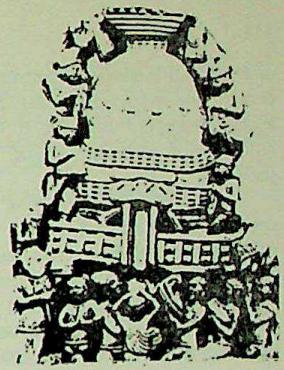

CHAPTER XI

RITUALS

Religion and Art

THE literary heritage and material remains of most ancient civilizations reveal that religion has much to do with the evolution of art. Indian civilization is no exception to it. Scholars of Indian art and history, both Indian and foreign, have observed that like the national life, Indian art also is mainly religious in character.[1] In the words of Coomaraswamy, 'Religion and art are the two names of one experience.'[2] Truly, sculpture and architecture in India have always been closely and intimately connected with religion. The images of gods and goddesses, bas-reliefs on the pillars and walls of the temples and stūpas as well as the wall-paintings reflect the character and concepts of Indian art as much as those of religion. Sāñchī art gives us vivid and revealing glimpses and impressions of contemporary popular religious cults through the medium of Buddhism.

Religious Condition During Śuṅga-Sātavāhana Times

Sāñchī sculpture is the product of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period. Prior to it, during the Mauryan times Buddhism and Jainism earned great popularity with the masses as well as the nobles and kings. While Chandragupta Maurya was a patron of Jainism, Aśoka left no stone unturned in averting schism in the Buddhist ranks and elevating its position from a regional to a popular world religion through strenuous efforts for its propagation. Although he was a staunch devotee of Buddhism Aśoka never discouraged other popular sects of Brahmanism; on the other hand, he always advised his subjects to cultivate reverence for all kinds of ascetics—Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.[3]

The transfer of power from the Mauryas to the Śuṅgas marks a very distinctive change in Indian art and religion. The first Suṅga king Pushyamitra is reputed to have been a great persecutor of Buddhism and crusader for Brahmanism. Although the art of Bharhut, Sāñchī and Bodhagayā is predominantly Buddhistic in form and content yet attempts at the revival of Brahmanism in a new form cannot be ruled out.

Many literary,[4] epigraphical[5] and sculptural evidences have revealed the existence of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism during the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. Temples enshrining the images of Vishṇu[6] and sculptural representations of Śiva in realistic *liṅga*[7] as well as anthropomorphic[8] forms have come to light.

Besides these deities of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism many others of the Vedic religion were still in high esteem in Indian society. Popular among these were Indra and Mitra (sun),

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and the fact is quite evident from their sculptural representation at the earliest Buddhist art-centres like those at Bhājā and Bodhagayā,[9] and also in the Jain caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa;[10] all of them belonging to the Śuṅga period.

A tradition of folk religion makes its appearance in Indian art from the third century B.C. It mainly includes the cult of yakshas and yakshīs. The earliest sculptural representation of this cult is attested by the majestic fiugres of the yakshas found from Parkham, Pawāyā and Paṭnā and those of the yakshīs from Didarganj and Besnagar.

Many tutelary deities in the form of serpents (*nāgas*) and trees (*vṛkshas*), and minor deities such as *devatās*, *apsarasas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, etc., were also worshipped by the masses during the period of the Śuṅgas and Sātavāhanas. This fact provides ample evidence of the presence of different cults in the country during the time under review.

Amalgamation of Different Religions

Since Buddha never denied the existence of the Vedic gods and also did not feel that he was promulgating a new and independent religion,[11] his followers felt no hesitation in coming to terms with the popular cults of Hindusim deeply rooted in the consciousness of the masses, mainly in the interest of the survival of their own faith. Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas were treated alike by the Buddha and the two traditions gradually blended.

The grand arrangement of the construction of the Great Stūpas like those at Bharhut and Sāñchī required the collective adoption of the popular cults of worship of the *yakshas*, *nāgas*, *kinnaras*, *devatās*, *lokapālas*, *vṛkshas*, etc. Behind the construction of these Great Stūpas, there lies an ancient and long tradition of stupa-architecture, several popular cults, immense wealth and collective religious faith of the entire community of the people. Of course, there was a tremendous release of popular feeling and imagination, expressing itself in the art and religion of the period.

Coomaraswamy observes that the art of these reliefs (Bharhut and Sāñchī) expresses a philosophy older than the Great Enlightenment, and it is rather a sample of the kind of non-Buddhist art which the Buddhists had to adopt to edify their own ends.[12] Hence the art of the Buddhist edifices is truly a reflection of the popular faiths and beliefs to which Buddhism was making a common approach.[13]

The sculptures of Sāñchī, Bharhut and Amarāvatī, according to Havell, bring us down from the transcendental heights of philosophic Hinduism to the plane of our common humanity,[14] and hence bespeak of the tradition of the pre-Buddhist art of India. Just as various streams mingle their waters in the ocean, similarly various cults contributed to the plan, decoration, imagery and overall embellishment of the stūpa.[15] The result was immediately apparent when the folk divinities like *yakshas*, *nāgas*, *gandharvas*, *devatās*, *kumbhāṇḍas* etc., were variously and vigorously carved out in Buddhist art. Thus we see that the early Buddhist art was necessarily the popular Brahmanical and animistic art of the day, adapted to the requirements of Buddhism.[16]

RITES AND RITUALS

Forms of Worship

The prevalence of different forms of worship is quite apparent in Sāñchī sculpture. All the symbolic representations of the Lord in the form of the *Stūpa*, the *Bodhi*-tree, the *Dharma-chakra*, the *Āsana*, etc., have generally been decorated with garlands. Even the parts of a symbol, like *aṇḍa* and *chhatra* of the stūpa, have also been shown garlanded. Mythical and aerial divinities like *kinnaras* and *gandharvas* or *mālādhārīs* and human devotees always appear with a garland offering in their hands (Figs. 41.1, 3; Pls. XXIX, XXXI, XXXII,

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XXXV, XXXVII, XLI). In many instances, a tray of flowers or garlands is depicted either being brought by some approaching worshipper (Pls. XXIX, XXXI) or placed by the side of the symbol (Pls. XXVIII, XXX, XLI). The sacred water brought in an ewer also appears to have been offered to the deity (Pls. XIV, XVII, XXIX, XXX). Indian ritual has ever since been associated with the water which is the source of life. Another form of worship, as depicted in Sāñchī sculptures, consists of the circumambulation or *pradakshiṇā*[17] (Pl. LX), the devotional prayer with folded hands (Pls. XVI, XVIII, XXVIII-XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV-XXXVII) kneeling down before the deity and touching the sacred symbol with the head and hands, particularly by the ladies[18] (Pls. XXX, XXXVI, XLI). Thus the garlanding (*mālyārpaṇa*), the sprinkling of the sacred water (*abhisiñchana*), the devotional prayer (*prārthanā*), touching (*sparśa*) and the perambulation (*pradakshiṇā*) were the main features of worship in the time of Sāñchī art.

Relic-Worship

The representation of the stūpa in Sāñchī sculptures indirectly points to relic-worship. Stūpas were erected over the relics of saints or great persons. We know that the relics of the Buddha were taken by the Mallas of Kuśīnagara from the Mango Grove to their capital with great rejoicing. A scene covering this event has been sculptured on the upper architrave of the Western Gateway on its rear face. Relics in caskets have been shown in several panels being carried on the head of an elephant and this practice continued as long as up to the seventh century A.D. when the relics of the king Prabhākaravardhana were sent on the heads of elephants for sprinkling into different tanks and rivers.[19] The war of relics also appears on the lower architrave of the Southern Gateway. Relic-caskets were kept inside the stūpas and were shown to devotees on stated occasions. One such representation has been alluded to by Cunningham[20] and Marshall[21] on the Northern Gateway, where people (Mallas of Kuśīnagara) have been shown performing *pradakshiṇā*, offering prayers with folded hands, dancing and singing to musical notes (Pl. LX). The relics of Sāriputta and Moggalana, found from Stūpa No. 3 and brought back from England, have now been placed in the New Temple at Sāñchī. In an yearly function, the exhibition of the relics in the New Temple seems to be in accordance with past practice.

Discourses

Religious discourses also are represented in Sāñchī panels. One such representation is available in a panel on the Northern Gateway.[22] Here a throne, the symbol of the Buddha, under a mango tree with an umbrella, symbolising the Mango Grove at Śrāvastī, along with the audience has been chiselled out (Pl. XXXII). Another similar scene, depicting the Buddha (in the form of a throne) as preaching in Nyagrodha-*ārāma* of Kapilavastu, appears on another panel of the same gateway.[23]

Charity and Donation

Indirect reference to charity and donation has also been indicated by the Sāñchī bas-reliefs. The scene of the Jetavana at Śrāvastī, depicted on a pillar of the Northern Gateway, and the scene of Viśvantara Jātaka incorporated on the lower architrave of the same gateway provide clear evidence of the popular practice of charity (*dāna*). Purchasing of the Jetavana by Anathapiṇḍaka from the prince Jeta of Śrāvastī and donating it to the Buddhist Church for the stay of the Buddha there shed ample light on the practice of charity. The Bodhisattva, born as prince Viśvantara, realised the perfection of charity by giving away his riches, his white elephant, his chariot, his horses, his children and even his wife[24] (Pl. XI).

Fire-Worship

The fire, a traditional item in Vedic ritual, does not appear

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in scenes depicting the worship of Buddha's symbols. But the prevalence of fire-worship in the contemporary Vedic mythology is quite evident from Sāñchī panels, where the Brāhmaṇa ascetics living in *āśramas* do indulge in this form of worship. They have been represented as bringing woods, burning the sacred fire, fanning it and putting oblations with spoons (Pl. LXII).[25] This sacred fire has always been shown tended in a hearth. It is seen sometimes hung on the wall of a hermitage (Pl. XXXIII),[26] and sometimes sheltered under a small temple[27] (Fig. 23.5). A fire-chapel also appears in Sāñchī sculpture.[28] This goes to show that the Vedic sacrifice form of ritual was still prevalent in society.

Ascetic Life

Asceticism lies at the root of Buddhism. It was practised by the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and the Jains alike. But there has been a great difference in their conceptions. While Brahmanic asceticism was a conception to free man from the oppression of animism (*Brahmavāda*) with the help of the penance, the Buddhist one was allowing men to live their lives without self-torture.[29] Although a majority of the panels on the gateways and the balustrades of the Sāñchī stūpas represents symbols and events related to Buddhism, yet the absence of monks and nuns and their monastic life is conspicuous. This absence of monks and nuns and their monasteries has been explained by certain scholars as being due to the Hīnayāna rulings under which the representation of the Buddha and the Buddhist *Arhats* (saints) in human form was not allowed.

We have many representations of the ascetic life in Sāñchī sculptures, but all of them depict the Brahmanical system of asceticism. Generally, we find hermitages (*parṇakuṭīs*) in the forest (*tapovana*), inhabited by male and female ascetics dressed in *valkala* or *kāshāya* (Pl. XII). These hermitages mostly include the huts (*kuṭīs*), fire-temples (*yojñaśālās*) or fire-altars (*yajña-vedikās*) with spoons, water-vessels, a pond and the ascetics either sitting before their huts in meditation or engaged in tending, feeding and fanning the sacred fire, preparing the small pieces of wood for oblation and bringing wood and fruits from the forest and water from the pond.

The hermitages are to be found in panels depicting the Viśvantara[30] and Śyāma Jātakas[31] and Ekaśṛṅga hermit.[32] A pillar of the Eastern Gateway[33] also contains two scenes depicting ascetic life in the *āśramas*. One includes a *parmaśālā* with an ascetic sitting in front of it, a lotus pond and an open pillared temple accommodating a five-headed *nāga* behind, a throne in the middle and a burning altar in front (Fig. 25.4). Another fire-altar, along with an ewer, wood pieces for feeding the fire and spoons, seems to represent Brahmanical rites in this scene. As far as the Brahmanical sacrificial life of the ascetics is concerned, it is more completely depicted in another scene on the same pillar, except that it consists of a brick stūpa enclosed with a square railing in place of the Vedic *parṇaśālās* (Pl. LXII). The inclusion of a stūpa in a Brahmanical *āśrama* has been explained by Marshall as representing the victory of the Buddha over Kāśyapa through the miracle of the wood, the fire and the offering.[34]

From the above descriptions, we come to the conclusion that what the panels of Sāñchī sculptures depict is the Brahmanical *āśrama* system and not the Buddhist monastic system. We may easily classify ascetics into two groups—senior ascetics, who are generally shown as anchorites with beards and moustaches and dressed in *valkala*; and novices, generally with long, loose and hanging hair. Female ascetics are apparently the life-mates of the senior ascetics.[35] Probably the panels, where male and female ascetics have been executed together, depict the third stage (*vānaprastha*) according to Vedic organisation of human life.

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2. *The Dance of Shiva*, p. 41.
3. R.E. III, IV, IX and XI.
4. *M. Bhāshya*, III.1.26; III.2.111 vide Agrawala, V.S., 'Religious Conditions in the Ashṭādhyāyī', *JUPHS*, Vol. XIX, p. 14.
5. Hāthī-Bāḍā Insc. (*Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā* of Saṅkarshṇa-Vāsudeva); Besnagar Pillar Insc. of Heliodorus (*Garuḍa-dhvaja* of Vāsudeva); Besnagar Pillar Insc. of Gautamīputra (*Garuḍa-dhvaja* of the temple of the *Bhagavat*), etc.
6. Ibid.
7. *Śiva-lingaṁ* from Bhīṭā (Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 32; Banerjee, J.N., *Religion in Art & Architecture*, p. 68) and Guḍimallam (Sarasvati, S.K., *Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 59), both assignable to the 1st century B.C.
8. Earliest figure of Śiva in human form is portrayed on the copper coins of Maues and Wema Kadphises, both assignable to *c.* 1st century B.C. (Banerjee, J.N., op. cit., pp. 47-48).
9. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 25, 32-33; figs. 24, 27, 40 and 61. However, Agrawala identifies the figure on the chariot and the elephant with that of Māndhātā in Uttara-kuru (*Indian Art*, p. 73).
10. Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*, p. 48, pl. XVA; Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, p. 28.
11. Radhakrishnan, S., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Foreword, p. ix.
12. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 27.
13. Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 206.
14. Havell, E.B., *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 80.
15. Agrawala, V.S., *The Stupa of Bharhut* by A. Cunningham, Intro., p. iii.
16. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Dance of Shiva*, p. 55. Cf. Marshall's *A Guide to Sāñchī*, pp. 83-84: "(The art of Sāñchī) was used for secular purposes. (But) from time to time it was impressed into the service of the Buddhist Church and on these occasions it was dressed out, as far as possible, in a Buddhist garb and labelled with the sacred signs and emblems, such as the *dharmachakra*, *triratna* and *śrīvatsa*."
17. Circumambulation is an age-honoured practice of translating a path in the space of our world into a religious experience and such a trip is prescribed by the sacred book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Julius Eggeling, tr., *SBE*, XII, Oxford, 1882, p. 425) vide Nelson, Wu., *Chinese and Indian Architecture*, p. 15.
18. It is worthy of remark that upwards of one-third of the gifts recorded in the inscriptions at Sāñchī were made by the fair sex (Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 171).
19. Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛttika Adhyayana*, p. 117.
20. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 230-31.
21. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 63; *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. II, description of plate XXXVIC. Cf. Colonel F.C. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, p. 117.
22. NG, East pillar, Front, Upper panel.
23. NG, West pillar, Front, Lower panel.
24. *Vessantara Jāt.* No. 545.
25. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; NG, Back, Lower architrave, Extreme right; NG, Front, West end, Lower lintel.
26. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
27. NG, Front, West end, Lower lintel.
28. EG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
29. Cf. Alessandro Della Seta, *Religion and Art* (English translation by Marion C. Harrison), p. 296.
30. NG, Back, Lower architrave.
31. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
32. NG, Front, West end, Lower panel.
33. EG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panels.
34. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 75.
35. Unmarried girls were also embracing the life of a wanderer (*kumāra-pravrajitā*) and taking to penance (*kumāra-tāpasī*) and these have been referred to by Pāṇini (*Ashṭā.*, II.1.70, *Kumāra Śramaṇā*), vide Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 385.

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CHAPTER XII

DIVINITIES

WE have already noticed that an amalgam was taking place in the field of mythology and Buddhist pantheon was accommodating many such deities and cults which were common in different sects and folk-beliefs. This fact is quite evident from the bas-reliefs on the Sāñchī stūpas where besides the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Sakka, Brahmā, Śrī-Lakshmī, Māra and a long line of minor divinities like *yakshas* and *yakshīs*, *nāgas* and *nāgīs*, *gandharvas* and *apsarasas*, *kumbhāṇḍas* and *kichakas*, *kinnaras* and *kimpurushas*, etc., have been represented. Sāñchī bas-reliefs also represent some mythical and fantastic creatures which were a jumble of parts of different animal bodies and were known as *īhā-mṛga* in ancient Indian literature.

The Buddha

In early Buddhism, which was a way of life or a philosophical system based on the doctrines of the founder, there was no need for representing the master. It was believed that the Buddha, the perfect one, is released from 'name and form'. We come to know from a Buddhist text, *Dīgha Nikāya*, that 'on the dissolution of the body beyond the end of his life neither gods nor men shall know him'.[1] According to Buddhism, every novice or convert had a uniform verbal profession: 'I take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha (collectively the Three-Jewels, *Tri-ratna*).[2] This formula was first started in the life-time of the Buddha. But after his death, what could the words 'I take refuge in the Buddha' have meant to a convert or a layman. Coomaraswamy very convincingly suggests that the above phrase might have made the Buddhists evolve a material representation of the Lord.[3] The Buddhists, a majority of whom were worshippers rather than thinkers, believed that the Buddha continued to be there and they may still take refuge in him, because it is not he that becomes extinct but the passions and desires.

Reaction against the Vedic rites began early in the Upanishadic period. Buddha also condemned it. The *Bhagavat-Gītā* upheld the utility of action done in the spirit of devotion and detachment.[4] And in this way the *Gītā* gave a new direction to religious speculation. Concentration and devotion are the keynotes of the *Gītā* which are also found in Pāli canon, *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I.472. Thus, the *bhakti* movement of the *Gītā* owes its origin to the stream of thought which begins with the *Upanishads*[5] and completes its final shape with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. This *bhakti* movement was bound to affect later Buddhism.

We know that worship of the Buddha as a result of the *bhakti* movement had already started in the time of Aśoka,[6] and this process was responsible for the evolution of the passionate love (*bhakti*) of the devotee for Lord Buddha. Thus it underwent a process of evolution from a system of thought to a popular religion. This theological development was influenced by the lay community of men and women, who

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have always been more anxious to worship than to know.[7] And the outcome of this development was seen in several symbolic representations of the Buddha in early Indian art of Bharhut, Sāñchī and Bodhagayā.

The highest objects of worship for the Buddhists were the *tri-ratna* (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and the relics which were *śārīrika* or corporal (hair, ashes, tooth, etc.), *uddeśika* or memorial (stūpas without relics, *Bodhi*-trees, holy spots, etc.) and *pāribhaugika* or objects having been of use to the Buddha (garments, bowls, sticks, etc.).[8]

A very pertinent question here comes before us that why the Buddha was not represented in human form in early Buddhist art. The answer is quite obvious. 'To assign a definite form to the figure of one who had denied the absolute value of all forms in the sphere of phenomena must have seemed the greatest insult to the spirit of his teaching.'[9] Sāñchī stūpas, therefore, preserve on their panels the idea of the presence of the Buddha through his symbolic representations. These symbols were taken from the great events of his life. The most important events of his life, the enlightenment (*saṁbodhi*), the first sermon (*dhamma-chakkapabattana*), and the decease (*parinirvāṇa*) have been represented through the symbols of the *Bodhi*-tree, the *Chakra* and the *Stūpa* respectively.

Sir John Marshall enumerates the birth as the First Great Event of Buddha's life and finds in the panels of Sāñchī stūpas for the traditional symbol of Indian miraculous births either the lotuses growing out of the pots (*bhadraghaṭas* or *maṅgala-ghaṭas*) or the figure of a lady, standing or seated in Indian fashion on the lotus, sometimes being anointed by the two flanking elephants, whom he identifies with Māyā, the mother of the Buddha.[10] But I am very sorry to disagree with his identifications. The panels representing the bunch of the lotuses cannot be accepted as a symbolic representation of the Lord's Nativity since these panels are quite devoid of any honorific appearance. Neither we see the garlands, nor the umbrella and nor the devotees which are the common features of every panel depicting the symbolic representation of the Lord. Similarly, objection may easily be raised against his identification of the above lady figure with Māyā on the ground that the panels depicting the above lady do not include any symbol for the infant Gautama.[11]

The other symbols indicating the presence of the Lord executed in Sāñchī art include the seat or throne (*āsana* or *vajrāsana*), the trident (*tri-ratna*), and the foot-prints (*pada-chihna*).

These symbolic representations of the *Bodhi*-trees (Pls. XIII, XIV, XXXII, XXXIII, LIX), *Dhamma-chakras* (Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII, XL, XLI), *Stūpas* (Pls. XXIX-XXXI), *Āsanas* (Pls. XVII, XVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, LVIII) and *Tri-ratnas* (Pls. XXXV, XL) decorated with flowers and festoons, surmounted by a single or multi-tiered umbrella and mostly encircled within a railing, are always seen along with the devotees, both men and women, paying their homage and performing the worship by offering garlands and the sacred water.

Of these, the *Bodhi*-tree is seen on the panels as being worshipped by some historical kings like Prasenjit of Kosala,[12] Bimbisāra or Ajātaśatru of Rājagṛha,[13] Śuddhodhana of Kapilavastu[14] and Aśoka of Magadha.[15] The representation of the latter appears to be certain if we accept the reading of an inscription on a fragment of a broken and isolated pillar near the Southern Gateway by Cunningham as "*Devānāṁ* (*piya*) *Māgadhe* (*rājā*)".[16] Among the whole Śuṅga-Sātavāhana art Sāñchī alone preserves the representation of Aśoka.

Indra or Śakra, Brahmā and other divinities along with *yakshas*, *nāgas*, *gandharvas*, and *kinnaras* have been sculptured in attendance on the symbols of the Buddha.

The symbols of the *Bodhi*-tree, the *Stūpa*, the *Chakra* and the *Tri-ratna* appear to be quite self-sufficient for marking out the representation of the Buddha. But the throne or *Āsana* symbol by itself is apparently incomplete in Sāñchī art. It has always been associated either with the *Bothi*-tree, *Bodhi*-

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ghara, *Chakra* or the *Tri-ratna* except for once where it is shown as an independent symbol of the *Bodhisattva* Gautama (Pl. LVIII).[17] But though incomplete by itself its value as a significant symbol of the Buddha cannot be ruled out.

The *Chakra* or *Dhamma-chakra*, symbolising the first sermon and the *Tri-ratna*, symbolising the trinity of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, have, both separately and collectively, been depicted in Sāñchī sculptures. Generally, these symbols have their majestic seat over the symbol of the throne. But when represented collectively sometimes the *Chakra* is placed above the trident and in other cases the trident above the *Chakra*. This, according to Cunningham, is due to the superiority being given sometimes to Buddha and sometimes to *Dhamma* by the artists.[18] Here the learned scholar seems to have taken the *Chakra* for *Dharma* and the trident for the Buddha. But the trident (*Tri-ratna*) is the symbol of trinity, hence it cannot be termed an exclusive representation of the Buddha.

The device of the foot-prints, symbolising the Buddha, has only once been represented on the outer face of a pillar[19] where the whole space has been utilized in depicting one single design. The base has a pair of foot-prints with the *Chakra* beneath the sole (Fig. 34.8), and the top is decorated with a lotus-wheel surmounted by a large trident having a parasol which itself is decorated with hanging garlands. And within these two symbols, there runs a line of *Nandipada* motifs with the flanking rows of necklaces suspended over the *nāga-daṇḍas* which seems to be the representation of the country's wealth brought as an offering to the Buddha. Here, the foot-prints represent the Buddha, because the *Chakra* beneath the sole is one of the distinctive marks (*lakshaṇa*) of the Great Person (*mahāpuruṣha*) or the Buddha, who was also the universal monarch (*chakravartin*).[20]

A curious and notable point to be noted here is that the panel represents the whole body of the Buddha, from the head (symbolised by the trident with the umbrella) to the feet (symbolised by the foot-prints). Agrawala has drawn our attention to this motif identifying it with the Vedic gold-stick (*suvarṇa-yashṭi*). It was also called the *hema-mālinī*, one having gold-necklace, which, according to the *Śrīsūkta*, was supposed to be a form of Lakshmī, the goddess of abundance.[21] It appears, according to Agrawala, that these *suvarṇa-yashṭis* have anyway been linked with the Buddha for the reason that he was called *Bhagavato pamāṇa laṭṭhi*[22] (measuring staff of the *Bhagavata*, i.e. the Buddha). This panel, therefore, appears to represent the same form of the Buddha which is a fusion of the cults of both Lakshmī and the Buddha.[23]

Other Mānushī Buddhas

Besides the historical Śākya Buddha, other previous mortal Buddhas have also been depicted on different panels of Sāñchī gateways, receiving homage and honour from the devotees. These mortal Buddhas, collectively represented on all the gateways, have been symbolised either by their respective *Bodhi*-trees,[24] or by their stūpas and *Bodhi*-trees both[25] arranged alternately.[26]

Bodhisattvas

Of all the Bodhisattvas,[27] we have a few symbolic representations of only Bodhisattva Gautama in Sāñchī sculptures. He has been represented in a scene of the Great Renunciation (*mahābhinishkramaṇa*)[28] by his caparisoned horse with a parasol above, when he set out for leading an ascetic life. In the foreground the horse is again depicted returning to Kapilavastu. This time the horse is seen without the parasol, indicating the absence of the Bodhisattva. The symbol of the Bodhisattva in the form of a pair of foot-prints with the *Chakra* motif on the sole has also been represented on the extreme right end of the same panel (Pl. XIV).

Another representation of the Bodhisattva Gautama shows an empty throne surrounded by three persons, one of them

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with folded hands.[29] This representation symbolises the First Meditation by the Bodhisattva prior to his becoming the Buddha. In the same panel he is again represented but this time with the *Bodhi*-tree indicative of his attainment of Buddhahood (Pl. LVIII).

Gautama, when set out for the enlightenment, according to Buddhist scriptures,[30] cut off his hair and cast them into the air, which the gods of *Trayastriṁśa* heaven took up and worshipped with great rejoicing. This worship of Gautama's *chūḍā* has been represented in a panel on the Southern Gateway (Pl. XXXIV).[31]

Sakka

Sakka and Inda are the Pāli equivalents of the Vedic Śakra and Indra. The word *Śakra* occurs many times in the Vedas[32] as an adjective qualifying the gods, chiefly Indra, and is explained as meaning 'able' or 'capable'. It is not found as a proper name in pre-Buddhistic times. However, whenever it occurs, it mostly means Indra.[33] But in Pāli literature, both Sakka and Inda are identified. In one place at least, the scholiast says, '*Sakko ti Indo*'.[34] Sakka is always spoken of as *devānāṁ-indo*, i.e. chief or king of the gods.[35]

Like Indra[36] of the Vedic pantheon, Sakka is so called because he is also capable of giving generously and thoroughly (*sakkachchhcm*).[37] His heavenly palace is *Vejayanta*.[38] In the company of his wife Śachī, he enjoys the pleasures of his Nandana garden[39] and rides his marvellous elephant *Erāvaṇa*.[40] In order to kill the demons, he is armed with a bolt and hence is called *vajirahatthā*.[41] He is the ruler of Tāvatiṁsa heaven.[42]

But in spite of all this affinity, Sakka is not an absolute monarch and he does not hold the same sovereign position as the Vedic Indra. Instead, he always attends on the Buddha. When the Bodhisattva cut off his hair and threw it into the sky, Sakka took it and deposited it in the *Chūḷāmaṇi-chetiya*[43] (Pl. XXXIV). He was present near the *Bodhi*-tree when Māra attempted to prevent the Buddha from reaching Enlightenment.[44] After giving the teaching to his mother Māyā, when Buddha descended at Sāṅkassa from Tāvatiṁsa heaven, Sakka created the ladders for him[45] (Pl. LIX). And all this goes to show his subordinate position in early Buddhism. Thus Indra, one of the supreme gods of the Vedic period, deteriorated into the chief of minor gods, the leader of the army of the gods and finally into one of the guardian deities of the eight regions.[46]

What position Sakka or Inda enjoyed in the Buddhist pantheon is clearly corroborated by Sāñchī sculptures, where on several panels on the gateways of the stūpas he has been variously represented, either in attendance on the Buddha as mentioned above, or holding his sway in his heavenly Vejayanta palace (Pl. LXIII)[47] or Nandanavana,[48] or sometimes enjoying the company of his consort Śachī (Pl. LXIX).[49] On Sāñchī panels his figure is easily identified either by his weapon, *vajra* (Pls. XII, LXIV), or his elaborate and typical head-dress, tall and cylindrical and sometimes decorated with chequered patterns all over (Fig. 13.1; Pl. XII).

Brahmā

The god Prajāpati, invoked in the *Ṛgveda* to bestow abundant offspring (*prajāṁ*),[50] is later on identified with Brahmā,[51] the personal name of the impersonal Brahman and the first of the later Hindu Trinity. In Buddhist scriptures, too, the creative form of the god is mentioned,[52] but he is inferior to Buddha in wisdom.[53] Therefore, in Buddhism, Brahmā serves as a faithful attendant of the Buddha.

This Brahmā of the Buddhist pantheon has accordingly been represented on the reliefs on the Sāñchī stūpas. In the scene of *devāvatāra* at Sāṅkāśya,[54] Brahmā along with Indra has been carved out (Pl. LIX). With his raised right hand, he waves a scarf in the air as we do today while receiving or bidding farewell to honoured guests or respectable personalities.

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Similar waving of scarf by one of the gods praising the Buddha on his victory over Māra's army has been represented on the Western Gateway (Pl. XVIII). The tradition of greeting a person by waving some piece of cloth is age-old. Even in the *Jātaka* stories, we come across this tradition. In the *Śūchī Jātaka* (No. 387), Bodhisattva, born as a son of a blacksmith, is said to have been greeted with the waving of cloths by an assembly of the blacksmiths. The presence of Brahmā has also been alluded to by Marshall[55] in the *Adhyeshaṇa* and Uruvilvā scenes on both the pillars of the Eastern Gateway[56] and in the *Adhyeshaṇa* scene on the Western Gateway.[57]

Śrī-Lakshmī[58]

Śrī-Lakshmī or Gaja-Lakshmī has also been frequently depicted on the panels of the Sāñchī stūpas. In several panels on the gateways of Stūpa Nos. 1 and 3 and the ground balustrades of Stūpa No. 2, there is a female figure either seated or standing gracefully on a full-blown lotus usually blooming out of a pot, holding a lotus or its stalk in one of her hands and in some cases being bathed with water poured out of two jars held over her head by two flanking elephants[59] (Pls. XXI-XXV, XXVII).

The identification of this figure has raised a keen controversy among scholars. Formerly Foucher identified this feminine figure as Māyā, and a prototype of the Hindu goddess, Śrī-Lakshmī.[60] He went on to maintain that the conception of Māyā is anterior to that of Śrī-Lakshmī.[61] Havell also identifies these female figures of Sāñchī with Māyā, but he considers them to be a derivation from the conception of the Vedic Ushas, the celestial maiden who rises in the morning from the ocean unfolding the petals of the lotus; and to be the prototypes of the later conception of Śrī-Lakshmī.[62] As regards the identification of the figure in question, Marshall was also of the same opinion as Foucher. But he did not agree with him on the chronological sequence of the conceptions of Māyā and Śrī-Lakshmī. On the other hand, he asserted that the Śrī-Lakshmī type goes back to a more remote age than that of Buddhism.[63] Coomaraswamy sought to trace a relationship between the emerging conception of Śrī-Lakshmī and the Vedic goddess Aditi.[64] Some scholars regard her as the Universal Mother Goddess, who was actually Supreme in India even long before the arrival of the conquering Aryans from the north,[65] which was certainly much earlier to the references to her in the Buddhist,[66] Jain,[67] Epic[68] and the classical literature.[69]

This motif of Śrī-Lakshmī is found at many other sites of contemporary Indian art both Jain and Buddhist. The earliest representation is executed over the gate of the Ananta gumphā at Khaṇḍagiri (Orissa).[70] Other sites like Bharhut,[71] Bodhagayā,[72] Kauśāmbī,[73] Manmoḍa[74] near Junnār and Mathurā[75] have also yielded the sculptural representation of Gaja-Lakshmī. The goddess has been represented in several terracottas[76] and on coins[77] pertaining to a period from Maurya to the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age. And all this fairly goes to show that the conception of Śrī-Lakshmī cult is older than that of Māyā, and the view is subscribed to by Marshall. Hence the derivation of the Lakshmī cult from that of Māyā, as maintained by Foucher, is not tenable.

Now so far as the identification of the deity sculptured at Sāñchī is concerned, Coomaraswamy finds in it the representation of Śrī-Lakshmī,[78] the goddess of beauty and abundance. This view has been accepted by almost all scholars of the subject. However, no one has gone into the details of the reasons for this identification. It is necessary, therefore, to examine here the views expressed by Foucher and Marshall and to discuss the reasons in support of the view that the composition in question represents Śrī-Lakshmī and not Māyā.

The figure under discussion has always been associated with the lotus and sometimes with elephants. Marshall takes the lotus as the traditional symbol in India for all miraculous births.[79] No doubt, the lotus indicates the life-element (*prāṇa-tattva*), which causes the creation of the universe and thus,

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it symbolises motherhood. But the birth is miraculous in a very restricted and particularised sense. The lotus symbol applies exclusively to those gods and goddesses who are *svayambhū* (self-born). The lotus, originating in the water, may also be deemed to be self-born; Brahmā[80] and Lakshmī, being *svayambhū*, are associated with the lotus. Buddha is not *svayambhū*. He takes his birth in a very normal course, and his birth therefore cannot be said to be miraculous in the traditional sense. On the other hand, Śrī-Lakshmī has been closely and variously associated with the lotus in *Śrī-sūkta*,[81] which could be dated at least before the Pāli Buddhist texts.[82]

Now as regards the association of the goddess with elephants, Foucher puts forward the evidence of the Buddhist scriptures, *Lalitavistara* and *Majjhima Nikāya*, where it has been recorded that 'at the moment of Buddha's birth, two *nāgas* (elephants) from the sky, miraculously bathed the infant Buddha with two streams of water, one cool and the other warm'.[83] But the panels under review never put these elephants in the sky. They are always shown standing on the lotus emerging out of the same pot which is the source of the lotus seat of the goddess herself. Apparently, they are closely related to the goddess and it is well-corroborated by the *Śrī-sūktā* where she is described as 'being delighted by the trumpeting of the elephants'[84] and 'being bathed out of golden jars by the elephants'.[85]

Moreover, the elephants in these panels have always been shown bathing the goddess, and not the infant Buddha, who has never been depicted in these panels. When the presence of Lord Buddha has been symbolically marked out in most of the panels on Sāñchī stūpas, why did the sculptor fail to portray the symbol of the infant Buddha in these panels which would have supported the identification suggested by Foucher in accordance with the Buddhist scriptures referred to above?

The motif, which typifies the idea of prosperity, frequently appears on coins, terracottas and sculptural panels pertaining to different periods, both anterior and posterior to Sāñchī art, with similar attributes in accordance with Hindu mythology and this goes strongly against the views of Foucher. On the contrary, continuous literary description, duly corroborated by sculptural and numismatic evidence, strongly supports the view that the Śrī-Lakshmī cult was already in existence before the execution of the Sāñchī gateways and the artists were not at all ignorant about this motif. Naturally, therefore, they did not confine themselves within the limits of Buddhism. They expressed the common faith through certain popular motifs of the yakshas, nāgas, gandharvas, kumbhāṇḍas, vṛkshakas, etc., because the epic construction of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī and Bharhut, according to Agrawala,[86] was apparently due to common efforts by the people in general.

Further it is also not correct to confine the conception of Śrī-Lakshmī to a particular religious sect. She was regarded as goddess of all householders of India, irrespective of their religion. In fact, behind Sāñchī sculpture, there lies a tradition of folk art. And so it is concluded that in the figure of this motif at Sāñchī, the Buddhists recognised, not Māyā, but Śrī-Lakshmī herself.[87]

Śrī-Lakshmī is the only goddess carved out in Sāñchī panels who, unlike Sakka and Brahmā, is not subordinated to the Buddha or the Bodhisattvas. Instead, she appears to have her independent character. Though we do not see hovering *kinnaras* or *mālādhārī vidyādharas* and human worshippers with joined palms around her. Yet, sometimes she appears in association with human or animal attendants (elephants). Not only this, the parasol over her head in some panels definitely represents her to be a deity of independent character and immense popularity.

Sāñchī sculptures afford different varieties of the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī as enumerated in literature. She has mainly two varieties—Padmā-Śrī and Gaja-Lakshmī. *Padma* or lotus is always found in different varieties of her figures, either as her seat or as an attribute (*līlā-kamala*). Actually the figure of the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī without the association of the lotus is unthinkable. And with this association she is known as

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Padmā-Śrī, Padmā or Kamalā with her three sub-varieties (i) *Padmasthā* or *Padma-sthitā*,[88] seated or standing on a lotus (Figs. 40.3, 4, 6, 7, 8; Pl. XXV), (ii) *Padma-hastā* or *Saroja-hastā*,[89] having a lotus in one or both of her hands (Figs. 40.2, 4, 8) and (iii) *Padma-vāsā*[90] or *Kamalālayā*, surrounded or flanked by lotus-stalk (Figs. 40.1, 2, 4). Besides, when she is being anointed by two flanking elephants she is known as Gaja-Lakshmī[91] (Figs. 40.3, 5, 6, 7, 8).

The goddess has some of her other varieties also represented in Sāñchī sculptures. The goddess represented on the gateways, particularly in the central position as on the upper architrave of the Southern Gateway, may be called Toraṇa-Lakshmī or Dvāra-Lakshmī. Representation of the goddess at the central part of the lintel is prescribed in literature,[92] and for this reason the principal doorway of the Orissan temples is called Lakshmī-dvāra and the deity herself is known as Toraṇa-Lakshmī.[93]

In certain panels the goddess is having a parasol over her head[94] (Fig. 40.8; Pl. XXV). This feature marks her out as Rājya-Lakshmī,[95] because we know that parasol or umbrella is one of the royal insignia. Moreover, her Gaja-Lakshmī form also attributes her with royal dignity as the elephants are supposed to be the symbol of space or quarters (*dik-gajas*), hence also symbol of sovereignty or the *chakravartī* form of the royalty.

The other varieties of Śrī-Lakshmī in Sāñchī sculptures include Saubhāgya-Lakshmī. The word *saubhāgya* itself denotes the bliss of conjugal happy life.[96] Therefore, when the goddess is seen associated with human[97] or animal[98] couples (*mithuna*) she is to be termed as Saubhāgya-Lakshmī (Figs. 40.4, 5, 6). Although the figure of the goddess is said to be made in association with two flanking maid attendants,[99] in sculptural representations we find male[100] or female[101] attendants separately. The rare representation of *mithuna* or couple in association with the goddess is, however, found in Sāñchī sculptures.[102]

In one panel the goddess is seen in association with the *kachchhapa* or tortoise[103] who is regarded as one of the *ashṭa-nidhis*, the Eight Treasures of Padminīvidyā whose presiding deity is Lakshmī.[104] Therefore, this representation of the goddess may be taken as that of the Nidhi-Lakshmī.

Māra

Kāma, the Hindu god of love, and Māra, a Buddhist god, are one and the same.[105] Both of them are regarded as gods of beauty and fertility. Like Kāma, in Buddhist Māra too we generally find the spirit of preventing a saint from achieving a high degree of penance. Destruction and detachment are his main activities. He tries to deter Bodhisattva from attaining Enlightenment.[106] This character of Māra has been depicted in the *Jātakas*[107] and similarly reflected in the bas-reliefs on the Sāñchī stūpas.

Māra, along with his wives, daughters, sons and attendants has been represented on the Western[108] (Pl. LVIII) and Northern[109] Gateways (Pl. XIII). Members of his army, merry-making with drinking, dancing and music represented in a spacious panel on the Northern Gateway,[110] appear very similar to the kumbhāṇḍas and remind one of the *gaṇas* of Śiva.[111] They are once again depicted on the Western Gateway where the defeated army of Māra is shown retreating in confusion.[112] In this scene, the figure of Māra sitting on his chariot with his bow is particularly attractive on account of his elaborate coiffure (Fig. 9.4) and is reminiscent of Kāma, the god of love of the Indian classics.

MINOR DIVINITIES

Besides the Buddha, Bodhisattva, Sakka, Brahmā, Śrī-Lakshmī and Māra many other minor divinities (*vyāntara devatās*) including aerial and mythical are also represented in Sāñchī art.

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Divinities

Yakshas and Yakshīs

Figures of the yakshas and yakshīs have a very important place in the Buddhist art of India. The earliest Buddhist art-centres like Bharhut, Sāñchī and Bodhagayā provide us with a number of various representations of the yakshas and yakshīs, particularly in the form of the Four Guardians (*chatur-dikpālas* or *Lokapālas*) and the *śālabhañjikās* (*vṛkshikās* or *devatās*). At Sāñchī, the bottom panels on the pillars of all the five gateways (four of the Great Stūpa and one of Stūpa No. 3) depict a larye yaksha figure as a gatekeeper (*dvārapāla*). Similar large statues in round were carved out at the summit of the upper architraves of all the gateways, flanking the large *Dhammachakka* in the centre, as one was preserved till recently on the Northern Gateway.[113] Different other panels like the uprights and the balustrade pillars of Stūpa No. 2 were also decorated with the figures of the yakshas and yakshīs. Figures of yakshīs in round known as *śālabhañjikās* placed in between the architraves at the either side and the bracket yakshīs attached to the capitals specially deserve notice.

Dvārapālas

The yakshas, carved in bold relief, standing like sentinels inside the pillars of the gateways, are endowed with an imposing personality. Their dignity is enhanced on account of their elaborate and high head-dresses and profusion of ornaments on their person. They hold in one of their hands sometimes a flower[114] and sometimes a weapon like a sword[115] or a spear,[116] which truly marks their identity as guardians (Pls. VI-IX).

These yaksha figures probably represent the regents of the Four Quarters, namely, Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera, chief of the *yakshas* on the north; Virūḍhaka, chief of the *kumbhāṇḍas* on the south; Virūpāksha, chief of the *nāgas* on the west; and Dhṛtarāshṭra, chief of the *gandharvas* on the east.[117] Each of them has a lieutenant, viz., Sūrya of Dhṛtarāshṭra, Yama of Virūḍhaka, Varuṇa of Virūpāksha, while Kubera was served by several yaksha-generals such as Maṇibhadra, Indra, Soma or Varuṇa.[118] This justifies the execution of these guardians in four pairs on the four gateways of the Great Stūpa. They were probably meant to guard against the entry of inauspicious elements into the sacred precincts of the Stūpa, hence they have an important role in religious lore as doorkeepers (*dvārapālas*). They were, as such, regarded as the great gods of the four quarters.[119] The antiquity of these Four Great Kings (*Chatummahārājika*) goes to the time of Pāṇini, who mentions that *mahārāja* was a *devatā* to whom oblations were offered.[120] Their divinity has been symbolised by the *svastika*, which seems to be the model of the Buddhist stūpas both in architecture and in its spiritual aspect.

In one passage of the *Ṛgveda*, the yaksha is indirectly referred to as having a beautiful form.[121] This idea of yaksha and yakshī being a model of beauty is much cherished in literature[122] and inspired their representation in the art of Bharhut and Sāñchī.

This popular yaksha cult is very old, not only pre-Buddhist but also pre-Vedic. Yakshas were regarded as almighty gods by the aboriginal tribes of India. According to their faith, these yaksha gods caused rain and harvests.[123] After the arrival of the Aryans, the prestige of these yakshas diminished in comparison with that of the Vedic gods. But in course of time these non-Aryan divinities were gradually accepted by the Aryans on their progressive assimilation with the non-Aryans.[124] In the early Vedic period, yakshas were considered quite inauspicious and were classed as *itarajanāḥ*,[125] the other folk; in the later Vedic period, they were regarded as *punya janāḥ*,[126] the sacred people, and in the epic age, the position of the yakshas was apparently considered similar to that of an immortal.[127] Yakshiṇīs and their temples have also been mentioned in ancient Indian literature.[128]

The yaksha cult was of the common folk and not of a

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developed mind. From the Vedic period to our own time, this yaksha cult has been found among the common masses from one corner of the country to the other in the form of village-gods better known as *Bīra*, *Bīra Baramha* or *Baramha Bābā*.[129] Like Brāhmaṇas and Jains, the Buddhists also accepted it. The *Āṭānāṭīya Suttanta*[130] gives detailed information about the yakshas. In the *Mahāmāyūrī* list of the yakshas, the names of the tutelary divinities of particular cities and places of India are described as local objects of worship.[131]

The spirit of yaksha has, from very olden days, been regarded as a power of fertility and associated with the tree (*vṛkshā*).[132] In the *Mahābhārata*, there are many stories where women, desirous of progeny, are said to have gone to the yaksha gods of the trees.[133] According to the *Nidānakathā*, the maid Sujātā took Gautama, sitting under the *Bodhi*-tree, for the spirit of that tree to whom she brought her offerings of milk-rice daily. Previously, she had thought of worshipping with one lakh coins annually if she would have a male child first.[134]

We find at Sāñchī many panels depicting sacred trees being worshipped by women. Marshall's interpretation of *Sambodhi* may be given preference over Fergusson's tree worship as regards the Sāñchī sculptures, but Indian women are still seen worshipping and performing the *pradakshiṇā* around trees in order to have a boon mainly for progeny.

Devatās

Of the female counterparts of the yakshas, śālabhañjikās are most attractive and exceedingly beautiful damsels. They are always associated with the foliage of a tree. Generally they hold in their hands either the trunk, the branch or the fruit of the tree carved out over their heads. As yakshas in the form of trees granted boons of progeny to women worshippers, these yakshis with their tender touch transmitted their energy of fertility to the trees. Such yakshi figures, making the tree bloom with their embracing touch, are met with in Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhagayā and Mathurā and are known as śālabhañjikās.

This motif of Indian art seems to have been derived from a literary tradition of *dohada*.[135] The śālabhañjikās of Sāñchī have been considered as *devatās* similar to Chūlakokā, Mahākokā and Sirimā of Bharhut and also as a developed form of the Mother Goddesses of Harappā times.[136] Many stone-statues and terracotta figurines of the Maurya and Śuṅga periods have been found, which undoubtedly stand for the cult of the *devatās*.[137] A *nagara devatā*, the goddess of the city, has been mentioned by Bhāsa in one of his dramas.[138]

Gandharvas

Gandharvas[139] belong to the air or the sky.[140] Their abodes are supposed to have no real or material existence. This belief was current from very early times, for we find Patañjali referring to it while commenting on a *vārttika* of Pāṇini.[141] But they are generally associated with music.[142] They are supposed to have been so proficient in music that the art itself is known as *gandharva-vidyā*.[143] Most probably the above described apsarasas at Sāñchī are their female counterparts performing a dance in the heavens.[144] Indra's harpist, Pañchaśikha, has been represented on the Small Gateway.[145] On the top panels of both the east and the west pillars of the Northern Gateway, two big drums, on either side of the symbol of the Lord, are shown being beaten with rods by two *devaputras*, who may easily be identified with gandharvas on account of their association with music (Pl. XXXII).

Apsarasas

Apsarasas, the heavenly nymphs, also figure among the divinities represented in Sāñchī sculptures. Like other minor divinities, they also do not possess any sacred position, yet they

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are placed in the long line of divine accessories. The dancers Miśrakeśī,[146] Alambushā, Subhadrā and Padmāvatī of Bharhut have, through their labels, helped us in identifying their classmates at Sāñchī. *Apsarasas* are expressly called the wives of the gandharvas,[147] and described as engaged in dance, song and play.[148]

A pillar of the Southern Gateway depicts in a panel the gods worshipping the lock of Gautama's hair. The gathering of the gods has been illustrated as enjoying the charming performance of a dancer to the tune of music played on different instruments by a party of three other *apsarasas* (Pl. XXXIV). Similar musical bands and dancing parties of the *apsarasas* have also been depicted in the scene of the Six Inferior Heavens on a pillar of the Eastern Gateway (Figs. 35.1-4; Pls. LXIII, LXIV) and in the scene of Nāgarāja Muchalinda on the Western Gateway (Pl. XXXIII).

Dance and music have been the chief forms of religious expression in India since time immemorial, and actually ancient Indians considered the arts of music and dancing as the life and soul of a religion. Even now in religious performances or daily rituals, music plays its part in the form of *kīrtana*, *bhajana*, *āratī*, etc.

Kumbhāṇḍas

Kumbhāṇḍas, the pot-bellied persons, supposed to be a class among the yakshas[149] are also represented in Sāñchī sculpture. They have generally been associated with the Tree of Life (*kalpalatā*), which is shown emerging either out of their mouths or navels. One such representation fills the whole lower architrave of the Southern Gateway wherein six *kumbhāṇḍas*, in a line, are shown spouting the louts-creeper.[150] One of them in the middle is profusely decked with ornaments. Similar *kalpalatās* with a line of *kumbhāṇḍas* placed in its turnings have been executed on the Small Gateway.[151] On a railing pillar (No. 49b) of Stūpa No. 2, a Tree of Life has been represented coming out of the navel of a *kumbhāṇḍa* who is seated at the base of the panel flanked by two cranes. A set of four standing *kumbhāṇḍas* making capitals of the Western and Small Gateways and their party merry-making with drinking, dancing and music on the Northern Gateway[152] are also to be noted.

Kumbhāṇḍas forming the capitals are specially to be noticed. They are carrying heavy load of the capitals and their features are quite realistic to convey this fact. Some of them appear to be smiling while others are tense. This is the way in which different people deal with life in different manner. While some remain happy in facing difficulties and burden, others do not tolerate it. Thus, through these *kumbhāṇḍas*, the sculptor has successfully expressed this idea.

Nāgas and Nāgīs

In Sāñchī art, three forms of nāgas are illustrated—first, a human form with a serpent-hood attached behind the head; second, a composition of human bust and zoomorphic lower part as coils and the third, a realistic and completely zoomorphic one. In their first form, the nāgas along with their female counterparts the nāgīs have generally been shown as attending on or worshipping the Buddha. Their king Muchalinda has been depicted on the Western (Pl. XXXIII)[153] and Small Gateways[154] (Pl. XX). Another five-hooded nāga king along with his four nāgī queens and nāgī attendants has been depicted on a pillar of the Southern Gateway.[155] On the middle architrave of the same gateway, the nāgas, nāgīs and their children are seen coming out of a pond and approaching the stūpa, a symbol of the Lord, in the centre (Pl. XIX). The scene hints at their association with water.

The Sāñchī sculptor has attached a serpent-hood to their heads, only in order to mark out their identity as nāgas. Nāgīs have always a single headed hood, whereas the nāga kings have five-headed hoods of a serpent, apparently to show their dignity.[156]

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Representation of a nāga of the second variety is rare. In the form of a man having five-headed serpent hood and coils it decorates a medallion.[157] Certain other medallions on the railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2 contain the representation of the third variety of realistic zoomorphic form of the nāgas.[158] The one on pillar No. 81a is a cobra of five-headed hood on a lotus stalk, flanked by two human worshippers with garlands, the male on the right and the female on the left (Fig. 41.10). Doubtless, it is a clear and the only depiction of serpent-worship in Sāñchī reliefs.[159] The fact is supported by the discovery of five larger than life-size statues from the surrounding area of Sāñchī.[160]

The popularity of the festivity (*nāga-maha*), fairs and processions in their honour (*nāga-yātrā*) from one corner of the country to the other certainly makes the cult of nāga-worship more ancient than even that of yaksha worship itself.[161] The offering to a nāga deity was called the *nāgabali* or *sarpabali*, the performance of which served the twofold purpose of honouring and warding off snakes.[162] This cult of adoration seems to have been derived from the association of the Aryans with the aboriginals of the land, which is evident from the Harappan representations.[163] We have a long tradition in our literature relating to this cult.[164]

Shrines to these snake-deities have also been mentioned in epic literature.[165] One of the five above-mentioned large statues found in the surrounding area of Sāñchī is still the object of worship on the Nāgaurī hill in the neighbourhood of Sāñchī.[166] Many temples dedicated to the nāgas are still available in Uttar Pradesh, Kashmir and Deccan. 'In the time of Akbar, the Great', as states his historian Abul Fazl, 'there were seven hundred Nāga-temples in the valley of Kashmir.'[167] This folk tradition of the nāga-cult translated in Sāñchī sculptures continues to find votaries throughout the country.

MYTHICAL AND FABULOUS CREATURES

Sāñchī bas-reliefs also represent many mythical and fabulous creatures of composite forms, partly human and partly animal or bird. Sometimes a jumble of different animal limbs is also illustrated.

Vidyādharas

Vidyādharas belong to a semi-divine category with a human head and torso, bird-like lower parts, and wings attached to their arms. A pair of vidyādharas is usually shown hovering in the air round the symbolic representations of the Buddha in the form of a stūpa, *stambha*, *Dharma-chakra* or a *Bodhi*-tree (Fig. 41.3; Pls. XXIX-XXXI, XXXV, XXXVII, XLI). They generally hold garlands in their hands to offer to the Lord. But sometimes they are shown holding a tray in one of their hands containing garlands or flowers.

A few representations of vidyādharīs have also been executed in Sāñchī art. On a panel on the Western Gateway,[168] four, against the usual two, vidyādharas have been shown hovering round a *Bodhi*-tree. Two of them are females astride mythical winged lions. Similar vidyādharīs astride winged lions have also been depicted on another panel representing Nāgarāja Muchalinda on the same gateway (Fig. 41.1; Pl. XXXIII).[169]

These garland-bearers (*mālādhārīs*), also known as *kinnaras*, are celestial beings usually shown flying in the sky with their consorts.[170]

Kinnaras and Kimpurushas

Two types of representations of the kinnarīs both peculiar and quite different from one another are found in Sāñchī

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sculpture. A horse-headed fairy (*aśvamukhī*) detaining a man is sulptured on the lower architrave of the Small Gateway of Stūpa No. 3 (Fig. 41.2; Pl. XX) and another with a man in her lap is seen on a medallion on pillar No. 86b of a ground balustrade of Stūpa No. 2 (Fig. 42.3).[171] Foucher recognises in them the yakshiṇī *assamukhī* of the *Padakusala Māṇavaka Jātaka* (No. 432).[172]

Another type of kinnara-kinnarīs is in the form of a horse with a human face (centaur). A horse with a female human bust (centauress) and carrying a male rider on her back is depicted on a railing pillar (No. 81b) of Stūpa No. 2 (Fig. 42.2). Another pillar (No. 7b) also represents a similar couple with the only difference that the horse has a male human bust and the rider on it is a female (Fig. 42.1). A similar centaur ridden by a woman is represented in a roundel on a pillar of the stairway balustrade of the Great Stūpa (Fig. 42.4).[173] Similar representations of centaurs with riders have also been found at Mathurā,[174] Rājghāṭ[175] and Ahichchhatrā.[176] These representations of centaurs may be classified as *kinnara-mithuna* or *turaga-nara*.[177]

These two types of kinnara-kinnarīs executed in Sāñchī art represent their two classes known as *nṛ-vaktra* (horse with human face) and *haya-vigraha* (man with horse's head).[178] According to Jacobi, the kinnaras have a human body and the head of a horse, while the body of a horse with human head is known as *kimpurusha*.[179] In this way, the horse-headed fairy in Sāñchī reliefs may be identified with a kinnarī whereas the centaur and the centauress with *kimpurusha*.

Other Fabulous Creatures[180]

Besides these kinnaras and kimpurushas, Sāñchī sculpture represents a number of various fabulous beings, e.g., winged lions, unicorn lions, griffins, human-faced manes, lion-faced crocodiles and fish-tailed elephants.

Winged lions in association with the flying vidyādharas have been chiselled out in a panel on the Northern Gateway[181] and in the scenes of the *adhyeshaṇa* and Nāgarāja Muchalinda (Fig. 41.1).[182] Six pairs of winged and bridled lions along with their riders are executed on the false capitals of the Northern,[183] Eastern[184] and Western[185] Gateways.

Human-faced manes, unicorn lions and griffins along with other natural and mythical beings have been represented in attendance on Lord Buddha, symbolically depicted as the *Bodhi*-tree and the throne.[186] This 'half natural and half supernatural zoo', as Foucher calls it, is in accordance to a passage in the *Chariyā Piṭaka*, where the Buddha recounts how in a former life, when he was the young anchorite Sāma, he sojourned in the forest in the company of lions, tigers, panthers, bears and the like[187] (Figs. 41.4, 6). Human-faced rams have also been carved out peeping out of the rocks in the scene of Indra's visit at Rājagṛha[188] (Fig. 41.5). Griffins, lions with a human face (Fig. 41.11) and with an eagle's beak, variously decorate the ground balustrades of Stūpa No. 2.[189]

Medallions on the railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2 have been decorated with a *makara* having the face of a lion[190] (Fig. 41.8) and stags.[191] The latter may be identified with *makarāśva*.[192] An elephant having a crocodile's jaw and fish-tail, generally spouting out of a *kalpalatā*, is also frequently depicted[193] (Fig. 41.9).

Most of these fictitious forms of animals depicted in Sāñchī bas-reliefs have been generally taken by scholars to be a result of foreign influence imported from the West Asiatic Greek art during the Maurya epoch of Indian history through contacts with the Hellenistic world.[194] But long before the advent of the Hellenistic age (4th-1st centuries B.C.) we find this art motif of the composite forms of fabulous beings depicted on the seals of Harappā. On Indus valley seals, we have representation of a bull-man (*vṛsabha-nara*) killing a horned tiger,[195] and a man-tiger[196] (*narasimha*). Other seals of the same origin depict a human face with the horns of a bull, the trunk and tusks of an elephant and the

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hind quarters and legs of a tiger.[197]

No doubt, these motifs of fabulous creatures are also found in contemporary Mesopotamian art. But it does not necessarily prove that the conception of a mythical being with half-human and half-animal form originated in Mesopotamia. The Indus valley can also be supposed to be the cradle of these motifs. Since we are well aware of the antiquity of theHarappā civilization, we feel a sort of hesitation in accepting the fictitious form as a foreign element in Indian art. Nay, with Harappā evidence, the composite forms theory of Hellenistic influence on Sāñchī art seems to be quite untenable. In this connection, we would like to draw the attention of scholars to a very old traditional art-motif of Indian art known as *īhā-mṛga*.

Īhā-mṛga was an art-motif, which, according to the *alaṅkāra śāstra*, is taken to be an artificial animal (*kṛtrima mṛga*).[198] It means a mythical type of animal worked according to the fancy of the sculptor and a jumble of parts of beasts, birds and reptiles.[199] *Īhā-mṛga* carries a long tradition, the germs of which, according to Agrawala, are found even in the *Ṛgveda* (VII.104.22), where the mythical forms are called Yātu.[200] From the epics we find a continuous tradition of *īhā-mṛga*. It was used in decorating the pillars of *Pushpaka Vimāna* of Rāvaṇa.[201] In the *Mahābhārata*, these *īhā-mṛgas* have been mentioned along with other mythical and fabulous creatures like kimpurushas, yakshas and *vyāghras*.[202] Even special names were given to these fantastic animals. Some of them were *gaja-vaktra-jhasha* (fish with an elephant's head), *mīna-vāji* (fish-horse),[203] *nakra-jhasha* (fish-crocodile),[204] *vṛka-siṁha-mukhair-yuktaṁ kharaiḥ* (mules with feline and leonine faces),[205] *mīnāśva* (fish-horse), *urabhra-vaktrāścha vihaṅgamākshā* (with faces of sheep and eyes of birds), *mārjāra-vaktrāścha manushya kāyā* (human body with face of a cat)[206] and *mātaṅga-nakra* (elephant-crocodile).[207]

After Harappā times, we find the depiction of *īhā-mṛga* in Śuṅga art. Besides Sāñchī, these mythical and fabulous beings have also been represented in the art of Bharhut,[208] Bodhagayā[209] and Mathurā.[210] The motif also passes into the fresco paintings of Ajantā through the sculptures of Amarāvatī. The tradition further goes onwards and its best specimen is found in the figure of Varāha Avatāra at Udayagiri near Besnagar[211] which is deemed to be a masterpiece of the Golden Age. Other specimens of the *īhā-mṛga* tradition may be found in the figures of the man-lion (*nṛsiṁha*) incarnation of Vishṇu[212] and Gaṇeśa.[213]

No doubt, we find an amazing affinity between Indian and West-Asiatic art-motifs, but the route of art influence is not as clear as it is often argued to be. Coomaraswamy seems to be correct in suggesting the possibility that India was the cradle of the art which later found expression in the richer arts of Syria and Western Asia as a whole.[214] It is also equally possible that the early chalcolithic culture extended over the whole area from the Adriatic Sea to Japan from 4000 B.C. to 3000 B.C., and that the early arts of India, Sumer and Babylonia were its regional developments.[215]

REFERENCES

1. Benjamin Rowland Jr., *The Evolution of the Buddha Image*, p. 6. Cf. *ananuvejjo* (Samsk. *ananuvedya*), unknowable, vide Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 71.
2. *Buddhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gachchhāmi, Dhammaṁ śaraṇaṁ gachchhāmi, Saṅghaṁ śaraṇaṁ gachchhāmi.*
3. *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, pp. 225-26.
4. *Gītā*, II.48, 57; IX.26, 27.

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5. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism & Other Minor Sects*, p. 9.
6. Cf. Bairāṭa MRE and Rumminidei MPE.
7. Coomaraswamy. A.K., *The Dance of Śiva*, p. 58.
8. *Kaliṅga-Bodhi Jāt*. No. 479.
9. Alessandro Della Seta, *Religion and Art* (Tr. by Marion C. Harrison), p. 306.
10. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 44.
11. For details see under Śrī-Lakshmī of this chapter and author's article, 'The Identification of a Female Motif in Sāñchī Sculpture', *JIH*, Vol. L, Pt. I, pp. 129-32.
12. NG, East pillar, Front, Upper and Lower panels. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. XXXIVA & B.
13. NG, East pillar, Inner face, Lower panel. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. XXXVB.
14. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. XXXVIC.
15. SG, Back, Middle architrave; WG, Front, Lower architrave; NG, Back, Upper architrave.
16. Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 166, 168, pl. XIX, Insc. No. 177.
17. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
18. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 231.
19. NG, East pillar, Outer face.
20. In *Khadiraṅgāra Jāt*. (No. 40), the sole of Buddha's feet have been described *chakrāṅkita*, having wheel emblem. For distinctive marks of the Buddha Marshall (*A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 49, f.n. 1) quotes Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 616-617; Alabaster, *Wheel of the Law*, p. 113 ff and 312 f; Hardy, *Man of Buddhism*, p. 382 f; *Lalitavistara*, p. 93 f; Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art*, pp. 160-62.
21. *Śrī-sūkta*, 14 (Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 200).
22. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, Insc. No. 17b.
23. The words *Śrī-tejas*, *Śrī-prabhāsamati*, *Śrī-dhara*, *Śrī-Samudra* and *Śrī-sambhava* indicating a name of the Buddha, have been mentioned in the Buddhist texts, vide *Buddhist Hybrid Saṁskṛt Dictionary*.
24. NG, Front, Middle architrave with both the flanking lintels.
25. NG, Front, Upper architrave with lintels; EG, Front, Upper architrave with lintels; EG, Back, Upper architrave with lintels; WG, Front, Upper architrave with lintels; SG, Back, Upper architrave; Small Gateway, Front, Middle architrave and Back, Upper architrave.
26. Each Buddha has its own *Bodhi*-tree, *Aśvatha* of Gautama, *śirisha* of Krakuchchhanda, *udambara* of Kanakamuni, *Nyagrodha* of Kāśyapa, *pāṭali* of Vipaśyini, *Puṇḍarika* of Śikhin and *śāla* of Viśvabhū (*Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, p. 201). Their identification has been sought from a similar representation of them at the Bharhut stūpa with their labels inscribed below the panels. See *Stūpa of Bharhut* by Cunningham, pls. XXIX and XXX.
27. Bodhisattva, '*bodhau yatante ye sattvāḥ*', i.e. 'those who strive for the attainment of *bodhi*', vide B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Intro., p. xv, f.n. Cf. 'he whose essence (*sattva*) is becoming enlightenment (*bodhi*)'. The term denotes (1) one who is about to become a Buddha, but has not as yet attained *nirvāṇa*; (2) a class of saints who have only once more to be born to enter *nirvāṇa* (Paul Carus, *The Gospel of Buddha*, Glossary, p. 248).
28. EG, Front, Middle architrave.
29. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
30. *Lalitavistara*, p. 164.
31. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
32. *RV*, III.4.1; V.4.2, 5, 8, 11; VIII.66.3.
33. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 58.
34. *Bhadraghaṭa Jāt*. No. 291; *DPPN*, under 'Inda'.
35. Rhys Davids, *Pāli-English Dictionary*.
36. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 62.
37. *Saṁ. Nikāya*, I.229, vide *DPPN*, under 'Sakka'.
38. *Vidhura Jāt*. No. 545.78; *Sudhā Bhojana Jāt*. No. 535.
39. *Vidhura Jāt*. No. 545.78.
40. *DPPN*, under 'Sakka'; *Vidhura Jāt*. No. 545.79, *Erāvaṇaṁ nāgarājaṁ*. Cf. *Airāvata* of the Vedic pantheon.
41. *Digha*., II.259; *DA*, II.689 vide *DPPN*, under 'Inda'. Cf. *vajrahastaḥ* and *vajrabāhuḥ* of *RV*, II.12.13 and *AV*, XX.34.14, respectively; *Vajradharaḥ* of *Rāmā*., VI.111.123.
42. *Vidhura Jāt*. No. 545, *gāthā* 79, *Sudhammaṁ Tāvatiṁsaṁ*.
43. *Jāt*. No. 65.
44. *Jāt*. No. 72.
45. *DA*, III.225.
46. Rao, T.A.G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 2, Pt. II, p. 517.
47. EG, North pillar, Front.
48. Small Gateway, Front, Lower architrave.
49. SG, West pillar, Front, Lower panel; Small Gateway, Lower architrave, Front face. Cf. Indra astride his Airāvata in a cave at Bhājā.
50. *RV*, X.85.4.
51. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 119.
52. *Digha Nikāya*, I.18, *vasavattī issaro kattā . . . nimmātā*, 'the creator of the universe'.
53. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 464.
54. NG, West pillar, Front, Upper panel.
55. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, pp. 71, 73 and 79.
56. EG, both pillars, Inner face, Upper panels.
57. WG, South pillar, Front, Upper panel.
58. See the author's article, 'Identification of a Female Motif in

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Sāñchī Sculpture', *JIH*, Vol. L, Pt. I, pp. 129-32.

59. SG, Front, Upper architrave; SG, Front, East end, Lower die; NG, Front, East end, Upper end Lower dies; NG, Back, West end, Lower die; EG, Front, South end, Upper and North end, Lower dies; WG, Front, North end, Lower die; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 1b, 71a, 76b, 85b and on a berm balustrade; Stūpa No. 3, Small Gateway, Front, East end, Upper die; Back, West end, Lower die.
60. Foucher, *Beginning of the Buddhist Art*, p. 70.
61. 'On Iconography of Buddha's Nativity', *ASIM*, No. 46 (1934), p. 21.
62. Havell, E.B., *A Hand Book of Indian Art*, p. 33.
63. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 96, f.n. 1.
64. *Archaic Terracottas*, pp. 72-73; 'Early Indian Iconography—Śrī-Lakshmī', *Eastern Art*, Vol. I, Jan. 1929. Cf. Motichandra, 'Padmā Śrī', *Nehru Abhinandana Grantha*, p. 370.
65. Zimmer, Heinrich, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 96.
66. *Siri Jāt*. No. 284; *Sirikālakaṇṇi Jāt*. No. 382; *Sudhā-bhojana Jāt*. No. 535; *DA*. II, 17.
67. *Pañchatantra kalpa*, 36; *Pariśishṭa Parvaṇa*, 12.
68. *Mbh*., II.10.18; III.277.26, 27; *Rāmā*., V.7.14; VII.76.31.
69. *Svapna*., I.1; V.1; *Mṛichchha*., V.12; *Mudrā*., III.5; *Raghu*., III.56; VI.5, 55; *Kumāra*., VII.89; XIV.3.
70. See Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*, pl. XIVA.
71. See Cunningham, A., *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XXXVI.1.
72. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture de Bodhagayā*, pl. XXXIX; Cunningham, A., *Mahābodhi*, pl. VIII. 7.
73. See Rai Govind Chandra, *Prāchīna Bhārata men Lakshmī Pratimā*, pls. X, kha; XI.
74. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. 29.
75. Joshi, N.P., *Mathura Sculptures*, p. 34 (Antiquity No. 36.2660).
76. Terracottas representing Gaja-Lakshmī have been found from Basāṛha, Bhiṭā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā (Rai Govind Chandra, *Prāchīna Bhārata men Lakshmī Pratimā*, pp. 84-87; see pls. IXb; XII).
77. The device of Lakshmī appears on coins of Viśākhadeva, Śivadatta, Vāsudeva, Azilises and Soḍāsa and also on coins from Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī (Banerjee, J.N., *DHI*, p. 122).
78. Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Early Indian Iconography—Śrī Lakshmī', *Eastern Art*, Vol. I, Jan. 1929. Previously he has also identified this composition with the Nativity by the figure of Māyādevī, which, according to him, after the 3rd century A.D., disappears from Buddhist art and invariably represents Lakshmī (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31).
79. *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 44.
80. *Rāmā*., VII.10.40 (*padma-sambhavaḥ*), VII.27.8 (*padma-yoni*), VII.36.4 (*padma-janmanaḥ*).
81. *Śrī-sūkta*, a *khila* attached to the *Ṛgveda*, describes Lakshmī as padmānanā, padmavarṇā, padma-sambhavā, saroja-hastā, padmākshī, padmāninī, padma-priyā, etc.
82. Dr. Motichandra, 'Padmā Śrī', *Nehru Abhinandana Grantha*, p. 22.
83. Foucher, 'On Iconography of Buddha's Nativity', *ASIM*, No. 46, p. 3.
84. *Śrī-sūkta*, 3, '*hastinādā pramodinī*'.
85. *Vishṇudharmottara*, XXX.82.7, '*gajendraiḥ snāpitakumbhaiḥ*'.
86. Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 161.
87. Cf. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 96, f.n. 1.
88. *Śrī-sūkta*, 4.
89. *Ibid*., 24.
90. *Ibid*., 5, 24.
91. *Ibid*., 3; *Vishṇudharmottara*, III.82.7; *Matsya*., 260.46.
92. *Rāmā*., V.7.14; *Mānasāra*, LIV. 30, 31; *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Vol. I, p. 122, line 8); *Śilpaprakāśa*, Utkala University Mss No. 085, folio No. 9.
93. Bose, N.K., *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, p. 174 vide K.S. Bhera, 'Lakshmī in Orissan Literature', *Lakshmī & Sarasvatī in Art & Literature*, ed. by D.C. Sircar, p. 92.
94. Stūpa No. 2, Ground Railing Pillar No. 71a; NG, Front, East end, Lower die; NG, Back, West end, Lower die; WG, Front, North end, Lower die.
95. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Brahma khaṇḍa, 3.66; *Matsya*., 260.45; *Mānasollāsa*, I.96, 97; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. I, p. 17; Vol. II, p. 17 (P.T.S.); *Tesakuṇa Jātaka*; *Svapna*., VI.7; *Pratimā*, III.20; *Karṇabhāra*, I.19; *Raghu*., IV.5, XII.15, 16; *Kumāra*., VI.89, XIV.5; *Mudrā*., VI.6; *Harshacharita*, IV; Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman; Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta; Eraṇ Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa.
96. Cf. *Kumāra*., V.1, *priyeshu saubhāgya-phalā hi chārutā*.
97. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar Nos. 1b, 22a, 49a and 71a.
98. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar No. 49a; SG, Front, Upper architrave.
99. *Matsya*., 260.45; *Śilparatna* vide T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 374.
100. Dasāvatāra cave, Ellora. See Jagdish Chandra, *Śrī*, Frontispiece.
101. Mahābalīpuram, see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, pl. LX, fig. 205.
102. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar Nos. 1b, 49a and 71a.
103. Stūpa No. 2, Pillar No. 49a. Also Pillar Nos. 23b, 51a and 70a.

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104. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LXVIII (Nidhi Nirṇaya)-4, 5 vide *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa Saṭīka*, ed. by Pt. Baldeo Prasad & Pt. Mangala Prasad, p. 323.
105. *Buddhacharita*, XIII.2.
106. *Mahāvagga*, I.10.32, 35.
107. *Khadiraṅgāra Jat.*, No. 40.
108. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
109. NG, Back, Middle architrave, Left half section.
110. NG, Back, Middle architrave, Right half section.
111. Cf. Havell, E.B., *A Hand Book of Indian Art*, p. 191.
112. WG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section.
113. Supra, p. 24; f.n. 55.
114. NG, East pillar, Inner face, Bottom panel.
115. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Bottom panel. See Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, pl. LXVIIa. The broken fragment is now placed in the National Museum, New Delhi.
116. WG, South pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
117. *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*, II.257) and *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III. 197-201); *Sirikāḷakaṇṇi Jat.* No. 382; *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545.76. Cf. Vedic rulers of the four quarters: Agni, Indra, Varuṇa and Soma vide Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 67.
118. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II.257; III.197-201; *Mahāvastu*, pp. 306-309; *Lalitavistara*, ch. XXIV vide Mookerjee, R.K., 'Notes on Early Indian Art', *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 57.
119. '*Chatummahārājika*', *Sirikāḷakaṇṇi Jāt.* No. 382; *Khadiraṅgāra Jāt.* No. 40.
120. *Ashṭā.*, VI.2.35 vide Agrawala, V.S., 'Religious Conditions in Ashṭādhyāyī', *JUPHS*, Vol. XIX, p. 13.
121. *ṚV*, VII.56.16.
122. *Gobhila Gr. Sūtra*, III.4.28; *Mantra Br.*, I.7.14; *Mbh.*, III.50.13; 52.16 (cr. ed.).
123. Fergusson, J., *Tree & Serpent Worship*, p. 244.
124. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yaksha*, Pt. I, p. 3.
125. Rai Govind Chandra, 'Problem of Yaksas', Journal of the G.N. Jha Kendrīya Saṁskṛt Vidyāpīṭha, *K.C. Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume*, XXVIII, p. 501.
126. Ibid., p. 512.
127. *Rāmā.*, III.11.93, *yakshattvaṁ amarattvaṁ cha.*
128. *Mbh.*, III.168.3.
129. Agrawala, V.S., *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Lokadharma*, p. 132; *Indian Art*, p. 114; Intro. to *The Stupa of Bharhut* by A. Cunningham, p. x.
130. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III.195.
131. *Mahāmāyūrī* (ed. Sylvan Levi), *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 38. For identification of the places, see Agrawala, V.S., 'Mahāmāyūrī ki Bhaugolika Sāmagrī', *JUPHS*, XV, Pt. II, pp. 27-29.
132. Tree worship is quite evident in the *Jātakas*. See *Āyāchita Bhatta Jāt.* No. 19.
133. Dvivedi, Hazari Prasad, *Hindi Sāhitya kī Bhūmikā*, p. 229.
134. *Jātaka*, Vol. 1, p. 90 (trans. Kausalyayana, B.A.).
135. For the meaning of the term *dohada* and other details see the Sālabhañjikā under the chapter on 'Pastimes and Recreations'.
136. Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 129.
137. Yakshī figures of Besnagar and Didarganj in the class of the stone statues and lady figurine laden with ornaments from Tamluk, now in the South Kensington Museum, London in the class of terracottas, may be cited.
138. *Svapna.*, VI.9.
139. According to *ṚV* (X.123.7), gandharva wears a fragrant (*surabhi*) garment, while in the *AV* (XII.1.23) the odour (*gandha*) of the earth is said to rise to the gandharvas. This suggests the derivation from *gandha* as possible (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 137).
140. *ṚV*, VIII.66.5; X.139.5 vide Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 136.
141. Banerjee, J.N., *DHI*, p. 351; Agnihotri, P.D., *Patañjalikālina Bhārata*, p. 190.
142. *Śat. Br.*, III.2.46 (J. Basu, *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 52); *Rāmā.*, VII.94.6; *Mbh.*, I.65.44; I.59.43.
143. Law, B.C., *India as Described by Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 260-61.
144. They were Viśvāchī, Ghṛtāchī, Rambhā, Miśrakeśī, Menakā, Urvaśī, etc. in Indrasabhā (*Mbh.*, II.10.10, 11).
145. Small Gateway, Front, Lower architrave.
146. The name of Miśrakeśī has been included in the list of the apsarasas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, II.10.10. They have been described as 'well-versed in dancing and singing', *nṛtya-gīta viśāradāḥ*—II.10-12.
147. *AV*, II.2.5, '*gandharvapatnībhyo-apsarābhyo*', vide Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 134.
148. *Śat. Br.*, II.6.1.
149. See supra, p. 123.
150. SG, Front, Lower architrave.
151. Small Gateway, Front, Upper architrave and Back, Lower architrave.
152. NG, Back, Middle architrave, Right half section.
153. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
154. Small Gateway, Lower architrave.
155. SG, East pillar, Front face, Upper panel.
156. Cf. Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent Lore*, London, 1926, p. 39.
157. Stūpa No. 2, Railing-pillar No. 6b.
158. Stūpa No. 2, Railing-pillar Nos. 32a and 81a.
159. Cf. Maisey, F.C., *Sāñchī and Its Remains*, p. 47, f.n. 1.
160. Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 244.
161. Agrawala, V.S., *Prāchīna Bhāratiya Lokadharma*, p. 68.
162. Banerjee, J.N., *DHI*, p. 346.
163. Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. 1, pp. 25-26,

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pl. 1b.

164. *Mbh.*, I.35.5-7; III.82.90-92; *Chullavagga*, V.6; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LXXXI.25, etc. For details see Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent Lore*; Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship*; Banerjee, J.N., *DHI*; Agrawala, V.S., *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Lokadharma*.
165. *Mbh.*, II.82.90-92, temple of *Maṇināga* at Rājagṛha.
166. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 244.
167. Murray Aynsley, *Symbolism of the East and West*, p. 126.
168. WG, South pillar, Front, Upper panel.
169. WG, North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
170. Sivaramamurti, C., *Kalugumalai and Early Pandyan Rock-cut Shrines*, glossary, *Vidyādhara*. Cf. *vidyādharī* in *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, V.46. For details, see Banerjee, J.N., 'Vidyādhara', *JISOA*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 52 ff and Luders, 'Vidyādharas in Indian Art and Mythology', *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, 1938.
171. A similar *aśvamukhī* along with a man has been found represented on a rail pillar at Bodhagayā (see Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, fig. 27c) and Mathurā (see Joshi, N.P., *Mathura Sculpture*, fig. 16), in a scene at Bhājā (see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. VIII, fig. 27) and in a Śuṅga terracotta preserved in the Baroda Museum (Hermann Goetz, *Art of World: India*, p. 49).
172. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 181. Cf. the *aśvamukhī* maidens haunting the high reaches of the Himalayas (*Kumāra.*, I.11; *Rāmā.*, IV.43.31).
173. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. VIIIf.
174. See *JUPHS*, XV, Pt. I, pl. II.3, 4.
175. Ibid., pl. III.5.
176. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. LXV; Sivaramamurti, C. and Bussagli, Mario, *5000 Years of the Art of India*, fig. 143 on p. 131.
177. Cf. *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*, 97. *Turaga-nara* has been associated with other similar art motifs like *īhā-mṛga*, *kinnara*, *vyāla*, etc. See Agrawala, V.S., *Kalā aura Saṁskṛti*, p. 207.
178. *Vishṇudharmottara*, XLII.13 vide Misra, Indumati, *Pratimā Vijñāna*, p. 342.
179. *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Vol. 2, p. 810a.
180. See author's article 'Īhā-mṛgas: The Mythical and Fabulous Creatures in Sanchi Sculpture', *Bulletin of the Assam State Museum*, Gauhati, No. 2 (1976), pp. 5-17.
181. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
182. WG, South pillar, Front, Upper panel; North pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
183. NG, Front, Middle false-capitals.
184. EG, Back, Upper false-capitals.
185. WG, Back, Middle false-capitals.
186. EG, Back, Middle architrave.
187. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. II, description of plate XLVI.
188. NG, East pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
189. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 7a, 14a, 35b, 56a and 72b.
190. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 25b.
191. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 11b.
192. Geden, A.S., 'Symbolism', *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Vol. 12, p. 142b.
193. EG, South pillar, Outer face, bottom; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 8b, 25a, 30a and 88a.
194. Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, pp. 97, 103, 156-58; *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 14; Sarasvati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 27; Majumdar, R.C. (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 515; Mookerjee, Radhakamal, *The Culture and Art of India*, p. 135; Jagdish Chandra, *Kalā ke Prāṇa Buddha*, p. 66.
195. See Marshall (ed.), *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. 1, p. 67; Vol. 3, pl. CXI; Kosambi, D.D., *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, pl. 48.
196. See Marshall, op. cit., Vol. 1, pl. XIII 7; Kosambi, D.D., op. cit., pl. 50.
197. See Marshall, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 389; Vol. 3, pl. CXII, Seal Nos. 376-381.
198. *Vāchaspatyam*, under the word *īhā-mṛga*.
199. Sivaramamurti, C., 'Some Archaeological Passages in the Rāmāyaṇa', *Journal of the Oriental Research*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 87-92, vide Vyas, S.N., *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*, p. 193.
200. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 72.
201. *Rāmā.*, V.9.13.
202. *Mbh.*, Ādi parvan, vide *Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. 1.
203. *Mbh.*, III.173-50, 51, vide Sivaramamurti, C., 'Saṁskṛt Literature and Art: Mirrors of Indian Culture', *MASI*, No. 73, p. 2.
204. *Mbh.*, XII.69.43.
205. *Rāmā.*, VI.51.28.
206. *Buddhacharita*, XIII.19, 23.
207. *Raghu.*, XIII.11.
208. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 41, pls. XIII, XVII, XXX and XXXI.1 (flying *vidyādharas* or *kinnaras*), XXXVI.2 (a crocodile with elephant's head), XXXVI.4 (griffin) and XXXVII.3 (winged lions).
209. See Cunningham, A., *Mahabodhi*, p. 14, pls. VIII.5 (flying *vidyādharas*), IX.15 (winged elephant) and IX.19 (winged horse); Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, fig. 94a-d.
210. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, figs. 24c, 26b, d, 132a-e.
211. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 174.
212. The earliest sculptural representations of *Nṛsiṁha Avatāra* have been found from Vishṇu

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Cave Temple constructed by Maṅgaliśa, a Chalukyan prince of Deccan in Śaka 500 (Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Other Minor Sects*. p. 44) and from Garhwā (see Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, pl. VIII, fig. 4).

213. The earliest sculptural representation of Gaṇeśa is found in the Kushāṇa age at Mathurā (Srivastava, V.N., Misra, Shivadhara, 'Inventory of Mathurā Museum Sculptures from 1939 up-to-date', S.Nos. 175-177, *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.* Nos. 11-12) and in the early Gupta Age at the temples at Bhumra and Deogarh (Agrawala, V.S., *Gupta Art*, pp. 35 and 13, pl. 55).

214. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 5.

215. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, p. 4.

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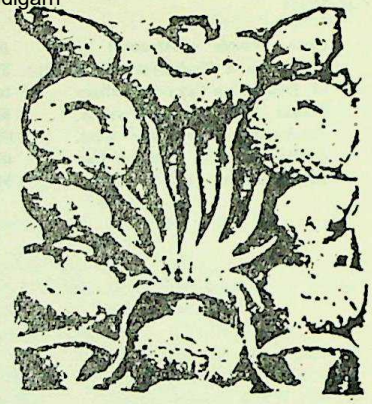

CHAPTER XIII

SYMBOLS AND MOTIFS

INDIAN art is said to have been a mirror of the thought, religion, philosophy, cults and culture of India.[1] Indian artists evolved an elaborate system of symbols and motifs to express their most cherished ideas, feelings and experiences in the realm of religion, philosophy and metaphysics. Many myths and legends, which are indispensable to a religion, were translated into stone through the medium of these symbols. The primary aim of these art-symbols, therefore, was to represent the Indian mind or thought or cult through some concrete form. Actually, they served as a bridge between the worlds of mind and of matter.[2] Subsequently, these art-symbols also served the purpose of decoration, but still their auspicious character was never diminished.

Sāñchī art is profusely enriched with several symbols and motifs. No discussion of Sāñchī sculptures would be complete without an exposition of the meaning and purpose of these symbols executed on the railings and the gateways of the stūpas. Among others, the *Bodhi*-tree (Wisdom-tree), *Stūpa* (tomb), *Chakra* (wheel), *Tri-ratna* (Three jewels or Trinity), *Nāga* (elephant), *Āsana* (throne), *Chhatra* (parasol), *Rāja-daṇḍa* (sceptre), *Chāmara* (fly-whisk), *Padma* (lotus), *Kalaśa* (auspicious vase), *Kalpa-taru* and *Kalpa-latā* (Wish-fulfilling tree and creeper), *Mithuna* (couple) and *Śrīvatsa* (an auspicious sign) deserve mention. Some of them are known to Buddhism which reveal the different episodes connected with the life of the Buddha or symbolising his presence. But most of them have a more ancient history with their usage going back to Vedic times. According to Havell, all the symbols commonly described as Buddhist were Aryan, and connected with Vedic rites. These symbols of Buddhism were not Buddhist inventions but the common property of all Indo-Aryan religions.[3] Anyway, the discovery of their correct interpretation is essential for exposing the role of Indian art which it had played in representing the culture and glorious past of our civilization.

THE BODHI-TREE

In view of a Hīnayāna ruling, the Buddha is not represented in human form in early Buddhist art. In the sculptures of Sāñchī, Bharhut, Bodhagayā and many other Buddhist sites, he has been represented symbolically wherever it was deemed necessary to depict him. Different symbols have been employed for the many Great Events of his life. The *Bodhi-vṛkṣha* symbolises his Enlightenment (*sambodhi*). The *Bodhi-*

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tree is represented on the architraves, lintels, false-capitals, pillars and uprights of all the gateways of Stūpa Nos. 1 and 3 and on the ground railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2 (Figs. 25.1-3).

The *Bodhi*-tree in Sāñchī art is encircled by a typical railing, decorated with garlands and sometimes surmounted by the *chhatra*. Generally, *devas*,[4] men and women,[5] animals,[6] birds and reptiles[7] have been shown paying homage to these *Bodhi*-trees. Earlier, Fergusson had taken this to be a contemporary form of tree-worship,[8] but later on, his interpretation was not accepted. The *Bodhi*-tree in Buddhist art, according to the current view, symbolises the great event of *sambodhi* or Enlightenment which the Lord attained under a tree at Bodhagayā; and Buddhists naturally pay as much reverence to the *Bodhi*-tree as to the Buddha himself.

At Sāñchī, not only Gautama Buddha but also other previous Buddhas have been represented in association with their respective *Bodhi*-trees—Gautama in association with *aśvattha* or *pīpala*, Krakuchhanda with *śirīsha*, Kanakamuni with *udumbara*, Kāśyapa with *nygarodha*, Vipaśyin with *pāṭalī*, Śikhin with *puṇḍarīka* and Viśvabhū with *śāla*.[10] All these seven Buddhas have been executed in the form of their *Bodhi*-trees on different gateways of the Sāñchī stūpas.[11] The identification of these Buddhas in Sāñchī sculptures, on the basis of their *Bodhi*-trees, has been made possible with the help of a similar panel found at Bharhut which contains the names of all these Buddhas inscribed below their respective *Bodhi*-trees.[12]

At present the *Bodhi*-tree, just like a stūpa, is supposed to be related to Buddhism. At least the word '*Bodhi*' in association with a tree has never been used prior to *Sambodhi*. But tree-worship in India is older than Buddhism itself. It has a prominent place in the Harappan religion. The depiction of trees on several seals and sealings discovered from Harappā and Mohen-jo-daro is of such a nature that their divine sanctity cannot be doubted.[13]

Leaving the Vedic *saṁhitās* apart, the whole of Indian literature is full of descriptions of tree reverence. Detailed information about the worship of a tree is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[14] *Mahābhārata*,[15] *Jain*[16] and Buddhist texts[17] and Saṁskṛt classics.[18] Even an ordinary tree was regarded as sacred in ancient times. In every village, according to the *Mahābhārata*, the tree besides the *yaksha* and the *chaitya*, was worshipped.[19] A very clear description of tree-gods[20] (*rukkha devas*) and their worship[21] has been found in the *Jātakas*. Similarly, in view of the references to the *rukkhajattā* (*vṛksha-yātrā*) in a Jain sūtra, *Nāyā Dhammakahā* and the *rukkha-maha* (*vṛksha-maha*: *maha* means *makha*, i.e. sacrifice, fair or festivity) in another Jain text, *Rāyapaseṇiya sutta*, the popularity of tree-worship and tree-festivities in society is quite evident.[22]

Worship of a tree was not started at random. Besides common and practical value of shade, wood and fruit, the tree also has a medicinal utility which earns a religious sanctity to it.

The tree is also regarded as a symbol of the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī and therefore it has been termed as *Śrī-vṛksha*. Prior to the *Bodhi*-trees of Sāñchī and other places, the symbol of *Śrī-vṛksha* was already there in Indian art. An example of this art tradition was found in Besnagar. It is the sculpture of a tree which is surrounded by a railing. On this tree gold coins in place of fruits are shown hanging from the branches. The sculpture is now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[23]

From the above, it is apparent that, whereas the *Bodhi*-tree symbolises the *sambodhi* and the Buddha himself, the *Śrī-vṛksha* symbolises the popular Goddess of Luck and Prosperity. This helps us in drawing the conclusion that there is a fine fusion of the elements of Buddhism and folklore in Sāñchī sculpture.

THE STŪPA

Among the Sāñchī bas-reliefs, the stūpa itself as a shrine has been variously represented (Fig. 24). The presence of devotees both men and women, standing with joined hands, bending in adoration and garlanding or touching the stūpa,

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brings out the ceremonial and religious significance of the precincts. Since the stūpa was constructed to enshrine the relics of the Buddha,[24] it was in one aspect a symbol of his Great Departure (*mahā-parinirvāṇa*) but as a whole it represents the Lord himself.

Although at present the stūpa is considered to have originated with Buddhism and prior to the time of Aśoka, it had not acquired any sacred character among the Buddhists,[25] it has a history older than that of Buddhism itself. Vedic Aryans had already begun to construct a planned building over relics in place of a mound of earth and stone,[26] and the custom of enshrining the urn or the relic-casket was also in vogue.[27] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the ancient tradition of funeral mounds of two forms, viz., square (*chatuḥ-śrakti*) and round (*parimaṇḍala*). It also records that the burial monuments of the Easterners (*Prāchyāḥ*) were circular.[28] Questioned on the point by his disciple Ānanda, Lord Buddha had asked his relics to be placed on a cross-road, just as the relics of a *Chakravartin* Emperor are placed.[29] This statement of Buddha itself is evidence of the existence of the form of a shrine even before his Great Departure. The burial mounds of Lauriyā Nandangarh, excavated by T. Bloch, remind us of such Vedic stūpas.

The idea of the stūpa is to be found in the *Ṛgveda* where the flames of fire[30] and the tree with stretched boughs[31] are compared with the stūpa. The Vedic Sūrya or *Virāṭā Prāṇa* is *hiraṇya-stūpa* whose golden rays are projected in the shape of a stūpa.[32] The Buddha, due to his enlightenment, is also associated with the stūpa. Coomaraswamy also thinks that the stūpa is a symbol of the Great Person. According to him, the architectural parts of a stūpa—the *aṇḍa* (dome), the *medhi* (terrace) and the *ādhāra* (base) symbolise the head, the body and the feet of the Great Person which are the sky or heaven (*svaḥ*), the space (*bhuvaḥ*) and the earth (*bhūḥ*), respectively.[33]

The stūpa motif also symbolises *triloka* (three spheres of the universe) by its three railings—the ground railing symbolising the Earth (*Pṛthvī*), the *medhi* railing symbolising Space (*Antariksha*) and the *harmikā* railing symbolising Heaven (*Dyuḥ*).[34]

THE CHAKRA

Of the various art symbols used in Sāñchī sculptures, the *chakra* or wheel occupies a prominent place. Although the sculptors at Sāñchī were widely influenced by popular cults, they chiselled out some typical Buddhist symbols, the *chakra* being one of them. Of the Four Great Events of Buddha's life, the First Sermon is related to the first religious preaching at Sārnāth by the Lord after he had achieved Buddhahood at Bodhagayā. This has been taken as setting the *Dharma* into motion (*Dharma-chakra-pravartana*) symbolised by a revolving *chakra* or wheel, which indicates the eternal process of the movement of *Dharma* (*śāśvat gatī*).

This Buddhist symbol in Sāñchī art adorns the medallions on railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2[35] and the upright bars,[36] dies (Pl. XLI),[37] architraves[38] and pillars (Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII)[39] of the gateways of both the Great Stūpa and Stūpa No. 3. The place of honour which the *chakra* occupies is to be noticed in these representations. In some cases, it has been placed on a pillar (Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII), while elsewhere on the throne (Pl. XLI). In some panels, the symbol of *chakra* is placed on the emblem of the *tri-ratna* which itself is placed on a throne (Pl. XL). Often the *chakra* is the crowning glory of the capitals of the four lions[40] or elephants[41] supported on a pillar, as in the case of the lion capital of Sārnāth.

The outer rim of many-spoked wheel is in some cases decorated with small emblems of *tri-ranta* (Pl. XL).[42] The *chakra* symbols are also adorned with garlands and crowned with umbrella[43] (Pls. XXXVII, XLI). The association of garlands and *chhatra* marks out its divine character. Moreover, the representation of men and women worshippers

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with folded hands or offering garlands leaves no doubt about the sanctity of the symbol. Formerly, these panels appeared to some scholars as representing some sort of wheel-worship.[44] But today everyone sees in them a symbolic representation of the Lord's worship.

The panels representing the *chakra* symbol in Sāñchī sculpture easily provide us with a glimpse of Buddhist religion and philosophy. The presence of the *āsana*, *tri-ratna* and *chhatra* evidently points to the presence of the Buddha himself. According to Buddhist philosophy, the *chakra* also takes an incarnation along with a *Chakravartin Samrāṭa* or Universal Monarch and sinks into the earth on the demise of that *Chakravartin*. It again comes out when another *Chakravartin Samrāṭa* takes birth and revives the *Dharma*.[45] In this way the *chakra* symbolises the *Dharma* and the *Chakravartin* form of the emperor as well. Since Gautama was gifted with all the traits of a *Chakravartin*, the *chakra* was a very apt symbolic representation of the Lord.

The Buddha is unknowable.[46] Only he who sees the Law (*Dhamma*) sees him;[47] and that is why in early iconography he is represented, not in human form, but by such symbols as that of the Wheel of the Law (*Dharma-chakra*) of which he is the immanent mover.[48]

The wheel in revolution was emblematic of the passage of the soul through the circle of various forms of existence. Hence, the wheel, or whole circle, was typical of anyone who, after obtaining *nirvāṇa*, or emancipation from this mortal coil, had completed the circle of his existence and was no longer subject to transmigration.[49] Hence it was an appropriate representation of Gautama Buddha.

Even prior to Buddhism, the *chakra* symbol was already there in Indian literature. It was a Vedic device symbolising the sun which itself is a symbol of Time and Speed. The spokes of a *chakra* are the fortnights and the *chakra* itself a year. The uninterrupted speed of the *chakra* inspires the life element and urges it to go on further.

The symbolism of the universal process—Creation, Evolution and Destruction—was also implicit in the *chakra* device, and therefore it was called the 'wheel of the universe' (*sṛshṭi-chakra*).[50] The *chakra* has a twofold aspect, viz., the centre representing rest and unity and the circumference representing movement and diversity. The *chakra* thus represents the synthesis between the two, and law of unity in diversity.[51]

THE TRI-RATNA

The *tri-ratna* represents the three main planks of Buddhism, namely, the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha. The execution of the *tri-ratna* symbol in Sāñchī art is found in various forms and contexts, mainly serving ceremonial and decorative purposes. At the summit of all the four gateways of the Great Stūpa, there was a large *Dharma-chakra* in the centre flanked by equally large symbols of *tri-ratna*. This fact is clear from the evidence available on the Eastern and Northern Gateways. It is the largest form of *tri-ratna* at Sāñchī.

In a bas-relief, three symbols of *tri-ratna* are seen placed on a throne inside a *Bodhi*-temple (Fig. 25.1).[52] In this triple representation of the symbol, Cunningham recognises the Buddhist triad of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and identifies it with holy Brahmanical trinity of Jagannātha.[53] A similar representation is found on a pillar of the Eastern Gateway where the symbol is seen singly enthroned on a lotus-*chakra* pedestal (Fig. 25.2; Pl. XXXV). Elsewhere the symbol of *tri-ratna* has also been represented in the form of a pedestal of *Dharma-chakra* (Pl. XL).[54] These representations of *tri-ratna* are divine in character which is evident from the presence of garlands, umbrella, hovering vidyādharas and worshippers with joined hands.

The artists at Sāñchī have variously used the motif of *tri-ratna* for decoration also. It decorates the central pendulum of the necklaces (Figs. 16.4, 6) and the outer rim of the *chakra* emblems (Pls. XXXVII, XL), surmounts the banners

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(Figs. 39.9-13; Pls. XVII, XVIII) and sceptres (Figs. 39.5, 6; Pl. XVII), adorns the sheath (Figs. 37.8, 9) and medallions[55] and blossoms as the crowning glory of a *kalpalatā*.[56]

Although the symbol of *tri-ratna* in Sāñchī sculpture is normally meant for decoration, in many panels, when executed as the pedestal of a *Dharma-chakra* or enshrined on a throne or placed at the summit of the gateways, it is pregnant with some special meaning. Here it symbolises the Buddhist trinity. With this esoteric explanation, the symbol in Sāñchī art is closely related to Buddhism, although it is neither exclusively nor originally Buddhist but of an antiquity much greater than any phase of what is now called Buddhism.[57]

Even when *tri-ratna* is used for decoration, it is an auspicious motif. It was one of the *ashṭa-maṅgalas* frequently used in Jain art decorating the *āyāgapaṭṭas*[58] (stone slabs), sole[59] and the serpent-hood[60] of the Jina Tīrthankaras and surmounting the arched and relieved gates of the Jain caves in Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri (Orissa).[61]

THE NĀGA

The *nāga* or elephant also finds its symbolic representation in Sāñchī sculptures. It occupies a prominent place in Buddhist literature. It is closely related to one of the Great Events of Buddha's life, i.e., the birth. Queen Māyā, before conceiving, dreamt of a white elephant (*nāga*). This episode has been translated into stone at Sāñchī. On a panel on the Eastern Gateway, queen Māyādevī is shown sleeping and the head of an elephant is represented as appearing in the space (Fig. 22.1).[62] In one of his previous lives, the Buddha was born as Bodhisattva Chhadaṅta, a six-tusked elephant, and this too appears represented in the reliefs on the Great Gateways.[63]

The elephant was also considered to be an auspicious animal. The elephant in the royal stable of king Vessantara was deemed to have the guarantee of rain, fertility, crops and the wealth of life. On the Northern Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī, king Vessantara has been represented doing practice of donation (*dānapāramitā*) by offering his white elephant for a neighbouring monarch, whose land was in dire need of rain[64] (Pls. XI, XII).

The elephant has also been carved out as a source of the *Kalpalatā* or the Tree of Life. Among the animals represented in Sāñchī sculptures, the elephant easily gets prominence. Its various representations include a set of four elephants in the capitals of the Eastern and Northern Gateways; detached elephants standing in between uprights on the lower architrave of the Northern Gateway and at the projecting lintels of the middle and lower architraves of the Eastern Gateway; in the scenes of royal processions and the war of relics forming a division of the army; and flanking and in some cases showering water on the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī (Pls. XXI-XXV).

THE ĀSANA

The *āsana* or throne has been used by the artists of Sāñchī to mark the presence of the Lord Buddha. Generally, the *āsana*, placed beneath the *Bodhi*-tree and sometimes encircled by a railing, is flanked by men and women with joined hands, paying homage or standing in adoration to the sacred symbol of the Buddha. The worshippers are also seen garlanding and touching the holy seat.[65] It is sometimes occupied by an emblem of the *tri-ratna* (Pl. XXXV) or *chakra* (Pl. XLI). This feature is also found in the contemporary art at the other sites.[66]

The *āsana* in Sāñchī sculptures appears to be a plain slab of stone placed over a rectangular base (Pls. XXXV, XXXVI, XLI). Sometimes it is only a plain slab of stone (Pl. LVII). Although both these forms symbolise the Buddha, the former depicts his stable presence, while the latter his moving position. Accordingly, the former is called the *āsana* and the latter the *chaṅkram*. The *chaṅkram* or the walking of the Buddha has been represented in one case on the waters

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(Pl. LVII)[67] and in another in the air.[68] In these cases, only a plain slab of stone has been chiselled out in the panels.

THE CHHATRA

The *chhatra* or umbrella also was one of the symbols representing the Buddha. In the scene of the Great Renunciation, Kanthaka, the horse of Siddhārtha, has been represented along with its keeper Chhandaka, first going outside and then coming back into the city. While going outside, the horse is provided with the *chhatra* over its back, but it is missing when the horse returns[69] (Pl. XIV). The presence of the *chhatra* marks out the presence of Gautama on the outgoing journey and its absence on the return journey suggests that Siddhārtha has gone into asceticism and the horse is returning without its rider. In this way, the *chhatra* symbolises the presence of Gautama on this panel.

The *chhatra* adorning the *harmikā* on almost all the stūpas is variously used as regards its number and tier. From one to five (single, double or triple), *chhatras* were used in veneration of a stūpa symbol (Figs. 24.1-8; Pls. XXIX-XXXI). But surmounting the symbols of *Bodhi*-tree and *Dharma-chakra*, the umbrella is always single (Pls. XIII, XIV, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVII, XLI). The *chhatra* symbol at Sāñchī was not employed for decoration at all. Its only function was to symbolise royalty and divinity. When used for representing divinity, it was always decorated with hanging garlands.

The original function of a *chhatra* lies in its quality of giving shade or shelter (*chhāyā*). This is in accordance with the fact that the head of a Great Person has the form of an umbrella. Thus the *chhatra* always symbolises the head or the top (*śīrsha*).

The *chhatra* actually constitutes a part of royal insignia, and that is why the king is called the *chhatra-pati*. Siddhārtha was a *chakravartin*, the universal monarch, hence the *chhatra* is an emblem of his royalty. There is a scene depicting the war of the relics of the Lord on the lower architrave of the Southern Gateway. All the kings and chieftains participating in the war are recognizable in the panel with the *chhatra* over their persons[70] (Pl. XV).

The shape of all the representations of the umbrella depicted in Sāñchī art is almost one and the same. It is a round covering attached to a frame of the spokes and supported on a slender rod (Figs. 39.1-4), sometimes the handle is made of a thick bundle of many sticks tied in one, apparently to support the heavy load of the *chhatra*. Although we cannot be sure about material of which it was then made, a rare yet vivid description of the umbrella is to be found in a later writer, Varāhamihira. According to him, it should be made of feathers of swans, cocks, peacocks or cranes and covered alround with a white silken cloth adorned by pearls or garlands of pearls. Its handle is to be made of crystal or a wooden rod covered with pure gold.[71]

THE RĀJA-DAṆḌA

The *rāja-daṇḍa* or sceptre was a staff borne as an emblem of sovereignty or royal authority. In Hindu polity, the sceptre was an emblem of the power by which the king maintained law and order. Law and order symbolised by the *daṇḍa*, however, took a place second to the *Dharma* which it was designed to subserve in Sāñchī art where the rod or *daṇḍa* is crowned with the *chakra* or *tri-ratna* motif, which was the emblem of *Dharma*. This is also borne out by scenes in Sāñchī sculptures where royal persons are always represented as paying respect to saints and divinities who are embodiments of the *Dharma*.

Whenever kings and chieftains have been represented marching in military warfare or attending the symbols of the Lord, they are shown bringing with them their retinue well-equipped with their royal insignia, particularly the sceptre and the fly-whisk.

The sceptre of Sāñchī consists of the staff and the banner.

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Hence we may better call it *dhvaja-daṇḍa*. Generally, it is a rod (*daṇḍa*), sometimes a bundle made of many sticks tied at intervals, surmounted by a *tri-ratna* on a *chakra* or *nandipada* emblem attached to a fluttering rectangular piece of cloth which is the banner (Figs. 39.5-7, 9-13). Such examples have been executed nicely in the scene of the war of the relics on the lower architrave of the Southern Gateway and on the capitals of the Eastern Gateway (Pl. XV).

In Sāñchī sculptures, the *dhvaja-daṇḍa* has a religious significance also. *Devas* or worshippers approaching the symbols of the Buddha or the *Bodhi*-temples have sometimes been shown holding these banner-poles (Figs. 39.5-7; Pl. XVII).[72] In such cases, the pole is sometimes crowned with an emblem of the *chakra* in place of the *tri-ratna* and is always decorated with hanging garlands with or without a long rectangular banner. In one panel, it is a banner-pole with a *chakra* and finally crowned with a fly-whisk, which is a unique example of its kind in the entire art of Sāñchī (Fig. 39.8).[73]

THE CHĀMARA

The *chāmara* or fly-whisk is also supposed to be an emblem of royalty. In Sāñchī art, sovereignty has generally been symbolised by the umbrella and the fly-whisk. These two royal insignia are very helpful to us in identifying the figures as royal dignitaries. Kings on chariots[74] or elephants[75] have been shown attended upon by umbrella and fly-whisk-bearers (Pl. XI).

At Sāñchī, the *chāmara* or *chaurī* symbolises not only royalty but also divinity. Therefore, it has also been freely and frequently employed by the artist to mark the presence of the Buddha who is the abode equally of royal and divine characteristics.[76]

In Sāñchī art, the design of *chāmara* also serves for decorating purposes.[77] It has been used as the crowning glory of the horse (Figs. 32.1-6) and, in some cases, of the staff (Fig. 39.8). Some men and women also arranged their hair in fly-whisk style (Figs. 9.5, 6; 10.7, 9). In these cases, the motif signifies added dignity.

The fly-whisk in Sāñchī sculptures is generally wielded by a female attendant. Only a few examples of male bearers of the fly-whisk are found in the whole art of Sāñchī. The large yaksha standing at the summit of the Northern Gateway was the best and largest example. Now it is broken into pieces and lying in the store of the local museum. The other two specimens of a man brandishing the fly-whisk over kings on chariots are found on the Southern[78] and Western[79] Gateways. Everywhere else the bearer of the fly-whisk is always a lady. It is thus obvious that the duty of brandishing the whisk was reserved for ladies in olden days.[80] A whisk-bearing yakshī found from Didarganj affords the best corroboration of this characteristic.

The Sāñchī specimen of the *chāmara* is a small handle, most probably wooden, attached to the whisk, a bunch of long hair. The handle is carved in a twisting design (Figs. 39.15, 16). The whisk was made of long flying tail-hair of a cow classed as *chamarī*, hence called *chāmara*, the corrupt forms of which are *chaṅwara* and *chaurī*.[81]

THE PADMA

The *padma* or lotus is the most important symbol in Indian art. It symbolises the earth. Its eight petals are the eight quarters. A thousand-petalled lotus is the symbol of *hiraṇyagarbha*, 'the womb of gold', which is the point of origin of the Brahman. Thus, the lotus is the cause of creation and it symbolises universal motherhood.[82] It also symbolises a miraculous birth since it comes into being out of water, and is *svayambhū*, self-born. The *padma* blossoms at the rise of the sun. The sun symbolises Brahma,[83] and as such the lotus seems to be the bestower of life.

Due to its popularity and deep significance, the *padma* has been used variously in Sāñchī sculptures. Its beautiful and attractive carvings are to be seen in medallions on the balus-

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trade pillars of Stūpa No. 2[84] and in other panels on all gateways of the other stūpas. Marshall seems to be right when he says that 'throughout the historic period, the Indian artist has always possessed an innate aptitude for ornamental and particularly floral patterns, and nowhere is this aptitude better exhibited than in some of the lotus devices'.[85] Full-blown or half-blown lotuses are seen in the ponds[86] (Pls. XLIX, L, LIV, LV), in the *maṅgalaghaṭas*[87] (Pl. XXXVIII) and in the hands of some human and divine figures[88] (Pls. VI-VIII, XXIII). In some cases, the lotus forms the beautiful divine seat of Śrī-Lakshmī[89] (Pls. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII). It has also been used by the Sāñchī artists to depict the wish-fulfilling creeper or *kalpa-latā*.[90]

The frequent execution of the *padma* symbol indicates the sculptor's attempt to convey to the common man both earthly beauty and metaphysical experience. The lotus full of beauty, purity and sanctity is beyond description. It has a moral significance beyond its sensuous attractiveness. The lotus exists in the water and yet it remains above it. It thus asks us to rise above worldly attachments but at the same time does not recommend asceticism. Thus, the execution of the *padma* on the panels on Sāñchī stūpas was inspired by the above traditional ideas overflowing the limits of the art motifs.

THE KALAŚA

The *kalaśa*, *ghaṭa* or *kumbha* (the vase or pot) is another motif frequently depicted in Sāñchī sculptures. It is variously called *pūrṇa-kalaśa*, *maṅgala-kalaśa* and *bhadra-kalaśa*. The first part of this compound word, '*pūrṇa*' means 'fulness', i.e., plenty and prosperity and '*maṅgala*' or '*bhadra*' means 'auspicious'. The symbolism of the *kalaśa* has a very old tradition in Indian art. It has become an inseparable part of our life which is evident from its representation on all auspicious occasions. It is an emblem *par excellence* of the fulness and prosperity, of life endowed with all its gifts, moral, material and spiritual.[91] In a *Jātaka*, it has been described as the Wish-fulfilling Pot.[92] It is one of the *ashṭa-maṅgalas* (Eight Auspicious Signs) and is held in reverence as the bestower of luck and prosperity on its devotee.

In Sāñchī art, this symbol has been variously carved out. It has generally been executed as full of divine water and with a bunch of lotus flowers with their stalks emerging out of it[93] (Pl. XXXVIII). Sometimes the *kalaśa* has been shown as the basis of the lotus-seat of Śrī-Lakshmī.[94] Generally, when the goddess is seen seated on a *padma* emerging out of a *kalaśa*, two elephants, flanking and sprinkling water over her, have also been shown on separate lotus flowers emerging out of the same *kalaśa* (Pl. XXIII). *Devas* with an auspicious pot in their hands are seen in Sāñchī bas-reliefs approaching the Lord in his symbolic form of an *āsana* or throne within a pillared shrine (Pl. XVII).[95] The motif also forms the base as well as the capital of the pillars in the religious and secular buildings represented in Sāñchī sculptures (Fig. 20.2; Pls. XXXVII, LXIII).

According to the *Ṛgveda*, *pūrṇakalaśa* is the symbol of Divine Splendour, Creation and Prosperity.[96] The water in the *kalaśa* is the divine element of life. It is considered to be the womb of gold (*hiraṇyagarbha*) from which the *Virāṭa Purusha*, the Great Person, emerges.[97] It is also the source of Śrī-Lakshmī, the Goddess of Luck and Prosperity. The *kalaśa* is full of water which gives birth to both the lotus and the Goddess. In view of both these conceptual associations of *hiraṇyagarbha* and Śrī-Lakshmī, the *kalaśa* conveys the idea of divine splendour. It is pregnant with the mysticism of Conception and Creation.

The conception of the auspicious virgins (*kanyās*) is also associated with the *pūrṇa kumbha*. Reference to the *pūrṇa kumbha-kanyā* is found in the *Lalita Vistara*, VII, in the context of the *udyāna-yātrā* (journey to grove) of Māyādevī. The *ashṭakanyās* (the eight auspicious virgins) formed an important part of the royal processions.[98] Such auspicious

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cshṭakanyās were invited on the occasion of Rāma's coronation, one of them being *pūrṇa kumbha-kanyā*.[99] Yudhishṭhira always used to see some auspicious things including auspicious maidens decked with ornaments in his daily rituals.[100] Actually it was a well-known auspicious symbol from the time of the *Ṛgveda* where a girl bearing an auspicious pitcher was known as *udaka-kumbhinī* (I.191.14), the same as the *pūrṇa-kumbha-nārī* of the *Atharvaveda* (III.12.8).[101] Ladies with lighted pots (*jyoti-kalaśa*) over their heads, standing for the reception of a marriage party at the door of the bride, remind us of these traditional auspicious maidens.

THE KALPA-VRKSHA AND KALPALATĀ

The symbols of *kalpa-vṛksha* and *kalpalatā* emerging out of the navel of a yaksha[102] or the mouth of a *kumbhāṇḍa*,[103] crocodile-elephant[104] and tortoise[105] have been chiselled out with evident enthusiasm by the sculptors at Sāñchī. Perching birds,[106] moving animals[107] and sporting human couples[108] are generally seen in association with it. Sometimes costly costumes, ornaments and garlands are also shown hanging from the branches of these *kalpa-latās*[109] and *kalpa-vṛkshas*[110] (Pl. LV).

The meaning of *kalpa* is to imagine, ideas or imagination originating out of the mind. Since what we think or desire earnestly and justly is fulfilled, we treat our considerate mind as *kalpa-vṛksha*, i.e., 'the tree fulfilling desires'.

Kalpa-vṛksha, according to Purāṇic myth, was a tree of heaven (Uttarakuru)[111] which was churned out of the ocean.[112] References to the *kalpa-vṛksha* are found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[113] *Mahābnārata*,[114], the *Jātakas*,[115] the *Purānas*[116] and the entire range of Saṁskṛt literature.[117] Everywhere it has been described as the bestower of all sorts of worldly requirements including costumes, ornaments, delicious meals, fruits, drinks and even young and beautiful maidens.[118] The mind in our body, which is the source of ideas or imagination, is actually heaven, and the association of the *kalpa-vṛksha* with heaven is therefore natural. We find all these associations of the *kalpa-latā* and *kalpa-vṛksha* minutely translated into stone at Sāñchī.[119]

THE MITHUNA

The *mithunas* or couples are executed in various jolly moods. They are symbols of a prosperous and pleasant life. In other words, through these couples the prosperity of society and happy conjugal life of the family have expressly been represented in Sāñchī sculptures. These *mithunas* are shown attending the shrines, worshipping the symbols of the Lord, enjoying gossip, participating in picnics, music, drinking and water-sports and indulging in different conjugal love postures.

A tiny couple, the female in the lap of the male, sculptured in a roundel on a stairway railing pillar of the Great Stūpa, is apparently enjoying a drink.[120] The male keeps her spouse in his left arm and brings a cup of drink to her lips. Another couple in a somewhat similar posture is seen in a panel on the Northern Gateway, wherein other couples are also enjoying water-sports (Pl. LIV).[121] A couple in a very romantic embrace is represented on a lintel of the Eastern Gateway. Here the lady reclining on the left thigh of her spouse takes the support of his left hand and displays her erect and protruding bosom (Pl. LI). A couple is seen in hunting dress, walking hand in hand (Pl. XLVIII).[122] Four couples engaged in similar romantic sports may be seen in a panel on the Western Gateway (Pl. LV). Another couple engaged in romantic sport is seen on the upper panel of a Southern Gateway pillar in its rear view. The male is sitting at ease holding with both his hands the right hand of his partner who is trying her best to be out of his grasp, which is apparent from the pose of the lady.[123]

Stūpa No. 2 also contains many depictions of the *mithuna*. In a roundel, a man holds the chin of his woman companion.[124] Many other couples in the form of a centaur[125] and centauress[126] with a rider of the opposite sex on its back may

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be identified with *kinnaras*, *kimpurushas* or *turaga-nara* (Figs. 42.1, 2, 4).

The *mithuna* (*dampati*) symbolises the union of the female (*nārī*) and male (*purusha*) principles. This union is so close that the female principle is spoken of as *ardhāṅgī*, as half of the body of the male. The symbolism of *dampati* (husband and wife) is regarded as an auspicious state of married bliss (*saubhāgya* or *sohāga*). It is sometimes represented in Indian art in the form of a pair of fish[127] and considered in all the religions as one of the eight auspicious signs (*ashṭamaṅgalas*).[128] This *mīna-mithuna* motif is prominently carved out in Sāñchī bas-reliefs. The east pillar of the Northern Gateway contains in its outer face a design of 18 necklaces including the two made of eleven and thirteen symbol-beads. In both these necklaces one of the symbols is a pair of fish (Figs. 16.4, 6). The auspicious symbol of *mithuna* in the form of a pair of animals and birds is also represented in the Sāñchī bas-reliefs on the false-capitals and a pair of haṁsas, cranes, peacocks, etc. in the designs of *kalpa-latās*. This conception of *mithuna* is responsible for introduction of the erotic sculptures in Indian temples. Originally, the *mithuna* figures were included in Buddhist shrines as an auspicious symbol. Later on the motif became erotic. But since it still contained the conception of an auspicious symbol, *mithuna*, the presence of these erotic couples on the outer walls of the temples was deemed necessary.

The origin of the *mithuna* motif may be traced back to the cults of fertility whose best example was the goddess Śrī. This conception of the goddess is revealed in the *Śrī-sūkta* where she is called *ārdrā* (moist),[129] and only for this reason the goddess was often associated with the couples as is found on the railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2 at Sāñchī[130] and on a terracotta plaque from Awra in Mandsaur district,[131] both in Madhya Pradesh. It is quite logical since no progeny or creation is possible without the union of the two principles, male and female, i.e., the *purusha* and the *nārī*. Thus the cults of fertility, specially the cult of goddess Śrī, have a direct bearing on the depiction of *mithunas* in religious art.[132]

The *mithuna* symbol travelled from the stūpa to the Brahmanical temple and the *mithuna* images were stationed on the walls for the purpose of attracting the eye, the senses and the mind of the devotee, so that he concentrated on them and became oblivious of all distraction.[133] It is believed that by contemplating their enthralling experience, the devotee acquires the proper frame of mind entitling him to enter the temple.

THE ŚRĪVATSA

In Sāñchī sculptures, *śrīvatsa* has been used both as a decorative motif and an auspicious symbol. On railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2, *śrīvatsa* has been generally carved out mainly for decorative purposes. In a medallion, there is a *padma-chakra* in the centre surrounded by four *śrīvatsa* and four *padma-chakra* symbols, placed alternately (Fig. 43.1).[134] In some other medallions, a solitary *śrīvatsa* secures the crowning position (Figs. 43.2, 3).[135] The upper half-roundel is composed of a large symbol of *śrīvatsa* within a lotus-stalk (Fig. 43.4).[136] Two emblems of *śrīvatsa* in a diagonal position above a half-rosette are seen in the lower half-medallion (Fig. 43.5).[137] On a corner pillar, four figures of this symbol are placed vertically, each flanked on either side with a lotus rosette (Fig. 43.11).[138] The most curious form of *śrīvatsa* is found in the representation of a female human figure. In the upper-half medallion, there is a lady with both her hands and her legs stretched in such a flying manner, as to form the emblem of *śrīvatsa* (Fig. 43.6).[139]

The use of the symbol as an amulet is also represented in Sāñchī sculptures. In a panel depicting 18 necklaces hung on pegs, two appear to have been made of some symbolic beads or amulets, each including an amulet of *śrīvatsa* (Figs. 43.7, 9).[140] The *śrīvatsa* symbol is also included in trappings. One of

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the horses placed in between the uprights on the Northern Gateway wears the plaque of *śrīvatsa* design (Fig. 43.8).

Some illustrations of *śrīvatsa* in Sāñchī art carry some religious import along with its ornamentation. To justify this statement, there are several examples in which *śrīvatsa* has been used in connection with the *dharma-chakra*, *tri-ratna* and *stūpa* symbols. The religious idiom is well explained and there remains the least shadow of doubt when a railing, an umbrella and garlands accompany it. Its best specimens are available as a central projection of the *tri-ratna* at the summit of the the Northern and Eastern Gateways placed on either side (Fig. 43.12). At one place, the motif finds central position on the body of a decorated *tri-ratna* (Fig. 43.10).[141] The position of *śrīvatsa* in the lap of *tri-ratna* with garlands and *chhatra* atop definitely shows its religious significance as a sacred symbol.

In Indian art, *śrīvatsa* has been represented either as an auspicious symbol (*māṅgalika chihna*) or as a distinctive mark of a Great Person (*mahā-purusha-lakshaṇa*). At its initial stage, it was used as an auspicious symbol which, later on, developed into a distinctive mark of a Great Person.[142] Its universality as an auspicious motif is quite evident from its wide popularity and application in different forms of Indian art. Its varied representations are found, besides Sāñchī, in the sculptures of Sārnāth, Bharhut, Udayagiri (Orissa), Amarāvatī and Mathurā. Even it has been widely demonstrated on ancient Indian coins[143] and terracotta seals.[144] As a distinctive sign of Great Person, it has been represented on the chest of Jain Tīrthankaras and Vishṇu. This traditional and universal application of this symbol in Indian art is age-old and its antiquity in India goes back to more than 3000 years from today when we find its representation in the anthropomorphic figures of the Copper Hoard Culture and in the hieroglyphic script of the Boghazkui inscriptions.

Śrīvatsa was one of the Eight Auspicious Signs (*ashṭa-maṅgalas*)[145] and it is proved from its presence along with that of the *svastika* on the Jain *āyāgapaṭṭas* from Mathura and in the very beginning of the famous Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela.[146] The latter is as much as to say *svasti-Śrī*, the term to begin with.[147] In short, *śrīvatsa* symbol in Sāñchī art is confined to its auspicious character.

REFERENCES

1. Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
3. Havell, E.B., *A Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 19.
4. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section; WG, Back, Lower architrave, Left half section.
5. On all the gateways in different panels.
6. NG, Back, Upper architrave; WG, Front, Middle and Lower architraves; EG, Back, Middle architrave; WG, South pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
7. EG, Back, Middle architrave.
8. Fergusson, J., *The Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 62.
9. Out of 550, in his 43 previous lives, the Buddha was born as a tree-god.
10. Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 201.
11. NG, Front, Middle architrave; EG, Back, Upper architrave; NG, Front, Upper architrave; EG, Front, Upper architrave; Small Gateway, Upper architrave, both in front and back.
12. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XXIX, XXX.
13. Mackay, Earnest, *Early Indus Civilization*, pp. 58-61.
14. *Rāmā.*, II.55.24-26.
15. *Mbh.*, I.30.2; I.138.25; III. 230.55; XIII.99.28-29; XIII. 125.26.
16. *Nāyādhammakahā*, I.25; *Rāyapaseṇiya sutta*, 148.
17. *Rukkhadhamma Jāt.* No. 74; *Kuṇḍakapuva Jāt.* No. 109; *Vyaggha Jāt.* No. 272; *Palāsa Jāt.* No. 307; *Puchimaṇḍa Jāt.* No. 311, *Mahāvaṇija Jāt.* No. 493, etc.
18. *Megha.*, II.11; *Kumāra.*, VIII.

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68; *Kādambarī*, p. 186 (Vaidya ed.).
19. *Mbh.*, I.138.25 (cr. ed.).
20. *Rukkhadhamma Jāt.* No. 74.
21. *Vidhura Jāt.* No. 545, *gāthā* 305.
22. Agrawala, V.S., *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Lokadharma*, p. 5.
23. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. IV, fig 10; Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, p. 20.
24. Primarily, in Buddhism, stūpas were funeral mounds raised over the relics of the Buddha. Later on these became an object of cult-worship and were erected to enshrine holy relics other than those of the Buddha himself or even to mark some specially sacred spot; and not much later, the mere dedication of a stūpa, with or without relics, came to be regarded as a work of merit (Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 32). Very recently, an eminent British art historian, John Irwin, in a series of lectures on "The Origin and Meaning of the Buddhist Stūpas" delivered at the National Museum, New Delhi, stressed that the Buddhist stūpa was not a sepulchre but a symbol of life and fecundity.
25. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, pp. 31-32.
26. *Śukla Yajurveda*, 35.15, vide Barua, B.M., *Bharhut*, Vol. 1 p. 80.
27. *Āśvalāyana Gr. Sūtra*, IV.5; Sāyaṇa commentary on *Rgveda*, X.18, vide Barua, op. cit.
28. *Śat. Br.* XIII.8.1.5.
29. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, p. 123; *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 80.
30. *RV*, VII.2.1 vide Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 156.
31. *RV*, I.24.7, ibid., p. 157.
32. *RV*, X.149.5, ibid.
33. Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'The Two Reliefs from Bharhut in the Freer Gallery', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VI, p. 152.
34. Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 158.
35. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 1c, 3a, 5a, 27a, 44b and 66b.
36. NG, Front, Middle upright bar on the middle architrave; EG, Front, Middle upright bar on Middle and Lower architraves.
37. NG, Front, West end, Upper and Lower dies; EG, Front, South end, Lower die; WG, Back, South end, Lower die; Small Gateway, Front, West end, Lower die; Small Gateway, Back, East end, Upper die.
38. WG, Front, Middle architrave.
39. SG, West pillar, Front face, Upper panel; Small Gateway, East pillar, Front face, Upper panel; Small Gateway, West pillar, Back, Upper panel.
40. NG, Front, Middle upright bar on the middle architrave; NG, Front, West end, Lower die; EG, Front, Middle uprights on Middle and Lower architraves; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 3a, 44b; Stūpa No. 3, West pillar, Back, Upper panel.
41. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 5a and 66b.
42. SG, West pillar, Front, Upper panel; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 1c, 3a, 44b and 66b.
43. SG, West pillar, Front, Upper panel; EG, Front, South end, Lower die; WG, Back, South end, Lower die.
44. Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 222.
45. *Dīgha.*, III, *Chakkavatti sutta* (Jagdish Chandra, *Kalā ke Prāṇa Buddha*, p. 70).
46. *Ananuvejjo* (Sanisk. *ananuvedya*), vide Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 71.
47. *'Yo kho dhammam passati mama passati'*, vide Coomaraswamy, ibid.
48. Coomaraswamy, A.K., ibid.
49. Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 227-28.
50. For other symbols related with the *chakra*, such as *Brahmāṇḍa-chakra*, *Saṁsāra-chakra*, *Bhava-chakra*, *Karma-chakra* and *Kāla-chakra*, see Agrawala, V.S., *Chakra-dhvaja*, Preface, p. i.
51. Ibid.
52. SG, West pillar, Inner face, Upper panel.
53. Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 232.
54. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 1c; Small Gateway, Back, East end, Upper die; Small Gateway, Front, West end, Lower die.
55. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 31b and 56b.
56. NG, East pillar, Outer face.
57. Many other trinities include *tri-loka*, *tri-deva*, *tri-kāla*, *tri-guṇa*, *tri-śūla* or *tri-tāpa*, *tri-śakti*, etc.
58. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, fig. 142.
59. Agrawala, V.S., 'Catalogue of the Mathura Museum', *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43 and 50, Antiquity No. B27 and 2082 respectively.
60. Ibid., p. 44, Antiquity No. B62.
61. See Mitra, Debala, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*, pl. XIVB.
62. EG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panel.
63. NG, Back, Upper architrave; WG, Front, Lower architrave; SG, Back, Middle architrave.
64. *Mahā Vessantara Jāt.* No. 547.
65. NG, Front, Upper and Middle architraves; NG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panels and Front face, Lower panel; EG, Front, Upper architrave; WG, Front, Middle and Upper architraves; SG, Back, Upper architrave, etc.
66. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture de Bodhagaya*, pl. XII; Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XIV, XV, XVII, etc.
67. EG, South pillar, Front, Lower panel.
68. NG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panels.

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69. EG, Front, Middle architrave.
70. SG, Back, Lower architrave.
71. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, LXXII.1, 2.
72. EG, Front, Lower architrave; Left half section.
73. WG, Back, North end, Upper lintel.
74. SG, Back, Lower architrave, Right half section; NG, Front, Lower architrave, Middle section.
75. EG, Front, Lower architrave; WG, Back, Upper architrave.
76. SG, Back, Upper architrave; NG, West pillar, Inner face, Lower panel; WG, North pillar, Inner face, Lower panels.
77. Cf. *Mānasollāsa*, III.11.1159, wherein the fly-whisk is meant for decoration (*śobhanārtham*), dignity (*vibhavārtham*) and for removing sweat (*svedāpanayanāya cha*).
78. SG, Back, West end, Bottom lintel.
79. WG, Back, Middle architrave.
80. Cf. *Rāmā.*, II.16.10; III.5.10.
81. *Rāmā.*, V.18.11; *Kumāra.*, I.13, *bāla-vyajana*.
82. According to the Hindu mythology, the universe is created by Brahmā who himself incarnates from the lotus and as such called *Padmayoni* (cf. *Rāmā.*, VII.27.8) and *Padmasambhavaḥ* (ibid., VII.4.9). In this way the lotus becomes the mother of the universe.
83. *RV*, II.3.48, '*Brahma sūrya samam jyotiḥ*', vide Agrawala, V.S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 72.
84. Popularity of the motif is evident from the fact that more than one-third medallions contain the lotus motif (Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 1, p. 176).
85. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 153.
86. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, folio, pls. XXXIVb, LIb, LIIa & b, LXI, LXIVc; Vol. 3, pl. XCVI.
87. NG, Back, Upper dies.
88. See *dvārapālas* (standing sentinels on NG and EG) and Śrī-Lakshmī.
89. Cf. *Śrī-sūkta*, 4.7, *Padmesṭhitā*. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pls. XI, XIII, XXIV, XXV, XXX, XLI, XLIV, LVI; Vol. 3, pls. LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, XC, XCII, XCVIII & CII.
90. Cf. similar depiction in the sculpture of Bharhut. See Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XLA.
91. Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 43.
92. *Bhadraghaṭa Jāt.* No. 290, '*sabba-kāma-dadaṁ kumbhaṁ*'.
93. NG, Back, Upper dies.
94. See EG, Front, South end, Upper die and North end, Lower die.
95. EG, Front, Lower architrave, Left half section.
96. *RV*, III.32.15.
97. *RV*, X.121.1.
98. *Rāmā.*, VI.128.38.
99. Ibid., VI.128.62.
100. *Mbh.*, VII.82.21, '*svalaṅkṛtāḥ subhāḥ kanyāḥ*'. Cf. *Harshacharita*, wherein Harsha is said to have an auspicious look of *pūrṇa-kalaśa* (Agrawala, V.S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 36).
101. Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian Art*, p. intro., iv.
102. See Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 23a.
103. SG, Front, Lower architrave; Small Gateway, Front, Upper architrave and Back, Lower architrave.
104. EG, South pillar, Outer face; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 3b.
105. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 23a and b.
106. See SG, Front, Upper architrave; SG, West pillar, Outer face; EG, South pillar, Outer face; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 44a.
107. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 44a, 49a.
108. SG, West pillar, Outer face.
109. SG, West pillar, Outer face; Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 5b.
110. NG, Front, East pillar, Lower panel.
111. *Mbh., Bhīshma.*, 7.2-11. According to Dr. Nemichandra Shastri, the land around the temple of Badrināth was known as Uttarakuru (*Mahākavi Bhāsa*, p. 13).
112. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I.9.95, *pārijāta*.
113. *Rāmā.*, IV.43.44-48.
114. *Mbh.*, VI.7.2-11, '*sarva kāma phalāḥ vṛkshāḥ*'.
115. *Mahāvaṇija Jāt.* No. 493.
116. *Vāyu.*, 45.10-11; *Vishṇu.*, I.9.95.
117. *Svapna.*, IV; *Megha.*, VIII.71, 75; *Śāk.*, IV; *Saundarananda*, IV.31, X.18-25; *Paumacharia*, III.3.7; *Śrāvakachāra*, 251; *Kādambarī*, p. 186.
118. For details see Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian Art*, pp. 48-51.
119. Such trees sometimes within railing and laden with ornaments, costumes or young maidens have also been sculptured in the contemporary art of Bharhut (see Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XL, XLVIII), Bodhagayā (see Cunningham, A., *Mahābodhi*, pl. VIII.4), Bhājā (see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. VIII, fig. 27), Udayagiri (see Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*, pl. XIVB) and Vidiśā (see Coomaraswamy, op. cit., pl. IV, fig. 10).
120. See *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, pl. VIII.
121. NG, East pillar, Front, Lower panel.
122. EG, Front, North end, Middle lintel.
123. SG, West pillar, Back face, Upper panel. Cf. similar representation on a Bodhagayā railing pillar No. 4, now in Indian Museum, Calcutta.
124. Ground railing pillar No. 20a.
125. Stūpa No. 2, Ground railing pillar No. 7b; Great Stūpa, Roundel on a pillar of the berm balustrade (see *Monuments of Sāñchī*, pls. LXXV and VIII.f

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respectively).

126. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar Nos. 81b, 82a.
127. See seven-headed hood over the head of Jina Pārśvanātha from Mathurā having the mark of a symbol on each head, one of which being the *Mina-Mithuna* and pedestal of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara having on its front side a symbol composed of *Mina-Mithuna* (Agrawala, V.S., 'Catalogue of the Mathura Museum', *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 44 & 57, Antiquity Nos. B624 and 1388, respectively). See Jain *Āyāgapaṭṭa* from Mathurā depicting auspicious signs including a *Mina-Mithuna* (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, pl. XXV, fig. 63).
128. *Aupapātika sūtra*, No. 31; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 428.
129. *Śrī-sūkta*, 4, 13, 14.
130. See Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 3, pls. LXXIV, LXXXVII.
131. Desai, Devangana, *Erotic Sculptures of India*, p. 14, photo 13.
132. Ibid., p. 18.
133. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 18.
134. Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar No. 53b.
135. Railing pillar Nos. 22b, 48a and 51a.
136. Railing pillar No. 75b.
137. Railing pillar No. 83b.
138. Railing pillar No. 44c.
139. Railing pillar No. 75a. Cf. a somewhat similar human figure in a medallion on one of the railing pillars found at Sārnāth (see Agrawala, V.S., *Sāranātha*, pl. IV), on a *torana* panel from Kauśāmbī (see Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, pl. XXX, fig. 77a), both assigned to the first century B.C., and on the royal belt of a Kushāṇa king found on the figure from Mathura, first century A.D. (Joshi, N.P., *Mathura Sculpture*, fig. 32).
140. NG, East pillar, Outer face.
141. Ibid.
142. The chronological development of the symbol and its culmination into a distinctive mark of a Great Person has been dealt with by the author in his article 'Śrīvatsa Symbol in Indian Art', *East and West*, Rome (Italy), Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1-4, pp. 37-60.
143. For details, see Srivastava, A.L., 'Śrīvatsa Symbol on Early Indian Coins', *Purātattva*, Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P., No. 14 (Dec. 1974), pp. 5-13; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII (1977).
144. See Thaplyal, K.K., *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pls. VIII, XVI, XIX, XXVII, XXIX, XXXII.
145. *Aupapātika sūtra*, 31.
146. See Shashikant, *The Hāthīgumphā Insc. of Khāravela & the Bhābru Edict of Aśoka*, pl. II; Cunningham, A., *CII*, Vol. I, pl. XVII.
147. Sivaramamurti, C., 'Saṁskṛt Literature and Art: Mirrors of Indian Culture', *MASI*, No. 73, p. 98.

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LIST OF SĀNCHĪ SCULPTURES PRESERVED IN DIFFERENT MUSEUMS OF INDIA AND ABROAD

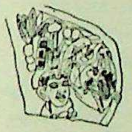
1. Śālabhañjikā, ht. 2′-2″, holding on to the branches of a śāla tree and wearing the cross-chain ornament and a jewel fillet. The figure once stood between the two architraves either on the SG or EG or WG of the Great Stūpa, Indian Museum, Calcutta, see *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Pt. I (Early Indian Sculptures) by N.G. Majumdar, Delhi, 1937, Pl. xi b, p. 63, No. S12.

2. Fragment of a gateway lintel representing a lady with cross hands over her breast region with traces of the legs of her companion sitting beside her. A griffin carved in round is sitting at the summit. The panel is a piece of the SG, a similar panel has been published by Marshall in his *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. 2, Pl. XIII which does not have the griffin over it, National Museum, New Delhi (Archaeological Gallery), No. 67.614, Negative No. 2614/1968.

3. A double-faced figure of an elephant with two riders one goading at the neck and the other behind holding with both of his hands the heavy rod of a banner. The figure once adorned the space between the uprights probably on the NG where only three out of four figures are present, National Museum, New Delhi (Arch. Gallery).

4. Fragment of the lower portion of a gateway, probably SG, representing a *dvārapāla* yaksha, National Museum, New Delhi (basement store), No. 67.616, Negative No. 1417/1978.

5. Fragment of the lower portion of a gateway pillar (outer face of a pillar of SG, see Marshall, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, Pl. XIXb) representing the Tree of Life in bends pattern as on a SG pillar, emerging out of the hands of a genii with curly hair and typical necklace composed of two *nandipadas* flanking a central oblong bead. Within the bends are represented two parrots, hanging necklaces and fruits, National Museum, New Delhi (basement store), No. 67.615, Neg. No. 1413/1978.



6. Reverse side of the above fragment, represents the lower portion of another *dvārapāla* (below the waist) with a long and broad sword hanging at his left suspended from the waist, Neg. No. 1414/1978.

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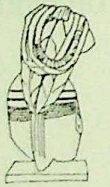
7a

7. Torso of a bracket śālabhañjikā of the SG, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see *The Art of Indian Asia* by H. Zimmer, Vol. 2, Pl. 22.



7b

8. Bust of a female figure, The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Boston, see *The Art of India & Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*, Boston, 1966, p. 23.

9. Śālabhañjikā, ht. 2′-1″, British Museum, London, No. 1842 12-10 1, donated by Mrs. Tucker, see *Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum* by William Rothenstein, the India Society, London, 1923.

10. Head of a bracket śālabhañjikā. The figure which on stylistic ground appears to be the other missing bracket śālabhañjikā of the EG, combs her hair from left to right leaving the parting line at her left like the one still in situ on the EG, Museum Für Volkerkunde, Berlin, No. IC 34 646, Sammlung Dr. Leitner, 1907, see *Indische Sculpturen*, Vol. I by Herbert Hartel, Berlin, 1960, Pls. 3 and 4.

11. A panel representing a *mithuna*, the lady standing in front of the male; both with joined hands. Above appear hovering *kinnaras* with garlands, Museum Für Volkerkunde, Berlin, No. IC 34 630, Sammlung Dr. Leitner, 1907, see *ibid.*, Pl. 5.

12. Head of a yaksha, Museum Für Volkerkunde, Berlin, No. IC 34 645, Sammlung Dr. Leitner, 1907, see *ibid.*, Pl. 6.

13. A lion-capital, Museum Für Volkerkunde, Berlin, No. IC 34 756, Sammlung Dr. Leitner, 1907, *ibid.*, Pl. 7.

14. A panel representing a stūpa with two flanking worshippers and two hovering *kinnaras* holding garlands, Museum Für Volkerkunde, Berlin, No. IC 34 681, Sammlung Dr. Leitner, 1907, *ibid.*, Pl. 8.

Note: The sculptures of Sāñchī preserved in the local Archaeological Museum at Sāñchī have not been included here in this list.

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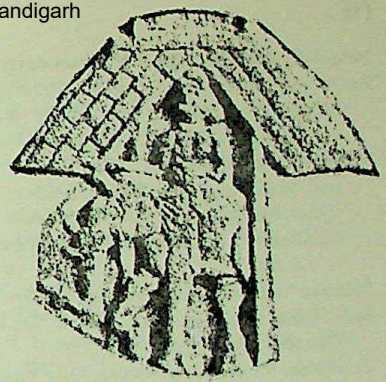

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